MENNONITE LIFE

October 1952

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of the best
in the religious, social, and economic phases
of Mennonite culture

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MENNONITE LIFE

An Illustrated Quarterly

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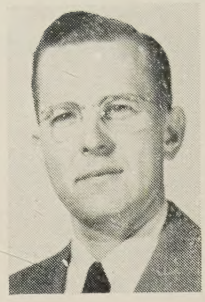
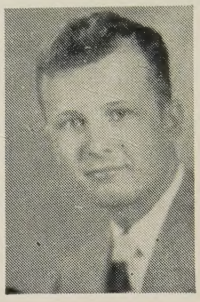

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LELAND HARDER, graduate of Mennonite Biblical Seminary, is pastor of the First Mennonite Church Chicago (p. 187
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EDITH CLAASSEN GRABER, graduate of Mennonite Biblical Seminary, is now in M.C.C. service in Germany (p. 176).
MARVIN HARDER, assisttant professor, political science, University of Wichita, completed doctorate requirements (p. 185
DOROTHY M. HUNSBERGER of the Deep Run Mennonite Church is a reporter for the Coatsville Record, Pa. (p. 166).
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Where Peace Begins

BY MAYNARD KAUFMAN

FOR a long time man has tried to attain peace. Since he thought that the causes for war were national problems, he tried to prevent war by signg peace treaties and organizing supranational organizaons to police the world and prevent aggression. Or, beeving that racial, economic, or religious conflict caused ars, he has tried to overcome such conflict by improving s eduation and providing international associations degned to teach men the brutality of war. Because the nmediate cause for war is often social conflict, man ought he could eliminate wars and establish order by cial reforms. But the result was only temporary order, ot real peace. These solutions to the problem of war ave not worked because they have merely treated the ymptoms of a deeper sickness of civilization.

Neither does the solution lie in education alone, although it can do much to promote conditions conducive o peace. We even have an ethical ideology devoted to he cause of peace among nations. This is pacifism, which akes on many different forms. Christian pacifism will e considered later as nonresistance. Generally speakng, pacificts base their beliefs on two major assumpions—the inherent goodness and the inevitable, evoluionary progress of man. They believe that social conlict results from social sin and thus requires social reorm. This means education and other non-violent means f reform. But because of the terrible brutality and detruction of two World wars, we no longer have faith n the goodness of man and his automatic progress. Eduation and pacifism do not adequately deal with the fact hat peace begins with a spiritual basis. Our problems re primarily spiritual, not social. War is called a social roblem, but the prevention of war is a spiritual probem and peace begins in the heart of man.

The traditional Mennonite position in regard to vioent social conflict has always been nonresistance. By onresistance is meant the refusal to resist evil by vioent means. Mennonites profess to have no part in carnal arfare or conflict between nations, groups, or individuals. n regard to peace, Mennonites believe that the individual hould first find peace with God. They see man as a inful, evil being, with no hope of reformation apart from he grace of God. Without the grace of God, they believe hat wars are inevitable, and see no hope of man establishing peace on earth. Nonresistance, as Mennonites interpret it, begins with spiritual regeneration—that is, conersion. This is absolutely necessary because of the noral depravity of man. The idea of "original sin" is the hcological explanation of man's natural sinfulness. It as been defined as "an inherited corruption" or "a mytical force toward evil" or simply a human tendency o sin.

Reinhold Niebuhr says that the paradox of freedom and finiteness in human existence makes man anxious. Anxiety, in itself, may not be sin, but it is the psychological condition preceeding sin.

Now, let us look at the psychological implications of anxiety. In the first place, anxiety is not a temporary condition but a basic, universal, permanent feeling. In the individual this anxiety manifests itself by either fear or anger, or both. These emotions give the individual no inner peace, because fear and anger virtually tear him apart. Conflict in the individual can always be traced back to a basic anxiety. Many psychologists agree that most neurotic conditions are due to anxiety. If the conflict caused by anxiety would remain within the individual, it wouldn't be too serious, but it doesn't. Fear, anger, hostility, and other symptoms of anxiety are usually directed at other people. Thus we see that the consequences of anxiety cause social conflict. There can be no peace as long as feelings of fear, anger, hostility, aggression, or insecurity are in the heart of man. They cause man to be aggressive or compel him to build defense mechanisms—actual or symbolical. On a national scale the consequences of anxiety can cause war.

Nonresistant Mennonites believe that war is the result of sin. But since anxiety is a basic cause of sin, it is the ultimate cause of war. Mennonites are also correct in stressing individual, spiritual regeneration as a prerequisite to peace. Man is such a sinful being that only a divine spiritual power can give him peace. Never has anxiety been as widespread as in our time. Man's sin is manifest in conflict within himself and with others, and never have we had as many bloody wars as in our time. In general, the Mennonites have offered the right solution to our social problems. Peace begins in the heart of man. Because of original sin or anxiety, conversion is necessary.

Faith is necessary before conversion or regeneration can become a reality. The ideal possibility is that faith in the security of God's love would overcome anxiety. Jesus said, "be not anxious, for your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things." Realizing man's finiteness, God has provided a way out of man's anxious predicament. He has endowed man with that unique capacity which enables him to put his faith into an ultimate reliance. The only way to eliminate anxiety is to replace it with faith—faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of man.

Here, then, we have the very simple solution to the problem of social conflict and war. Peace begins in the heart of man because that is where war begins. Anxiety causes sin and sin causes war. Conversion will remove sin by replacing anxiety with faith. The elimination of sin

and conflict should eliminate war. But this is a theoretical solution, and, sad to say, it has not always worked in actual practice. In religious disputes, where both sides claim to be born-again Christians, there is bigotry and conflict. The failure is not because the principle is wrong, but because it has not been carried out properly. There are at least three general reasons why regeneration has failed to eliminate social conflict.

First, our solution to the problem of conflict is idealistic. Conversion does not completely eradicate sin, nor does faith completely replace anxiety. As an ethical ideal it remains unfulfilled on earth. It may seem as if the Christian works for a lost cause, but that is his duty.

Second, too often the motivation for conversion is selflove—"I want to be saved because I don't want to go to Hell," or "I want to go to Heaven." Such an egocentric conversion is a far cry from the conversion that is based on the divine love of God shed abroad in human hearts. The divine love of God or *agape* is the love that loves even enemies. This kind of love and self-love are incompatible.

Third, there is unwarranted pessimism among Mennonites. Believing that wars are inevitable, they make no attempt to attain world peace. Mennonites have too often practiced a sort of ascetic pacifism—a "hands off" policy. Instead of facing the problems of the world and trying to solve them, they have retreated and wi drawn from the world. This is a negative, selfish attitu The Christian should be vitally concerned about help others. Doing good works should be the natural o growth of regeneration and faith.

Christian pacifism or nonresistance is only one asp of the Christian way of life. It is a life of disciplesh possible only by a personal commitment to Christ. WH Christ left this earth, he left a band of twelve discip to carry on His work. Small groups of believers are ve effective in witnessing for Christ. They are knit toget by the bonds of Christian love, and have a burning eva gelical zeal.

Today, we are living in one small world. Mode technology has overcome the barriers of distance. T planet is one large community, and we are all neig bors. World peace is possible only if Christians reali Christian brotherhood. We like to say that we are c body of believers—united through Christ; but we a divided by denominational conflict, prejudice, and tolerance. It is necessary now that we realize our broth hood. World peace begins with individuals, committed Christ, and working together for Him in small groups.

Then, in the midst of conflict, we can have peace, t love and peace of Christian fellowship and peace heart, the peace that passeth all understanding.

Three Poems

BY HAROLD BULLER

THE DAWN, I DEEMED, HAD COME WITH CHRIST

The dawn, I deemed, had come with Christ
  And broken through the night.
Has God withdrawn His blessed gift
  Of overwhelming light?

With ugly gasps earth tries to rise
  From heaps of black debris.
Does darkness cause to stumble yet?
  O God . . . it cannot see!

Poor fool, look up! The day is come
  Two thousand years ago!
How strange it fails to comprehend
  The skies' enlightened glow.

Oh, hell within that staring glare!
  Earth, turn those eyes away!
It speaks . . . what pain . . . " . . not blind
  But you obscure the day!"

GOD, GRANT US MOSES-MEN

God, grant us Moses-men who trust in Thee
  And stand erect when all the world reclines
in fateful lethargy; sane men who see,
  and who in stalwart heart and mind divine
God's chosen path across the heated sands.
  God, grant us men who on some Sinai
Have humbly bowed to follow Thy commands;
  Unselfish men, and unafraid to die,
Who move at thy request though nations rise
  In mutiny, and trials cloud the day;
Great men of noble love, sincere and wise;
  God, grant us Moses-men—strong men who pray.

A PRAYER

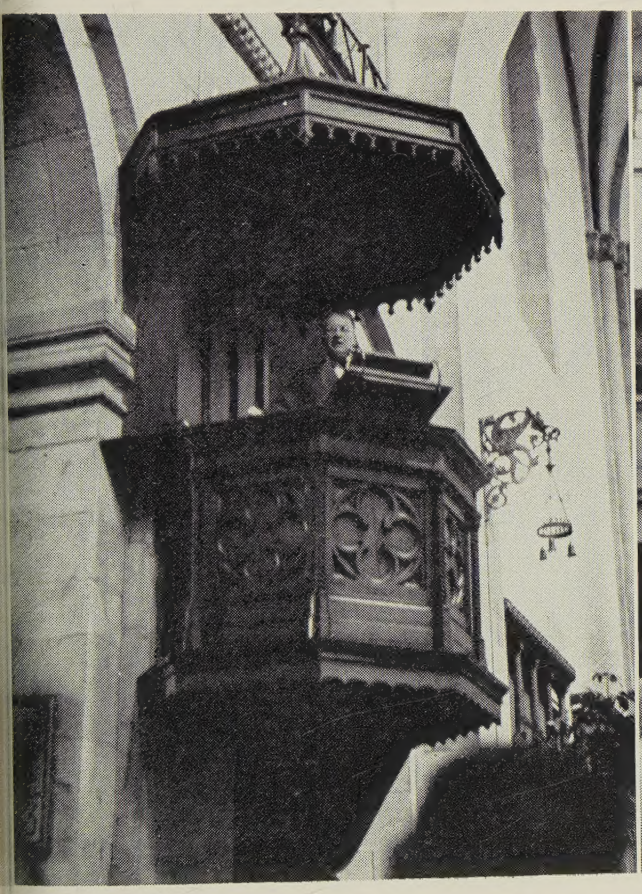
Dear Lord of all,
Make us to serve thee as the rains
That fall upon the common grasses of
    the fields.
And there, sunk deep within the soil
    of human kind,
Grant us this prayer.
To find that lose, we live
Where love has made men free,
Not in ourselves,
But Thee.

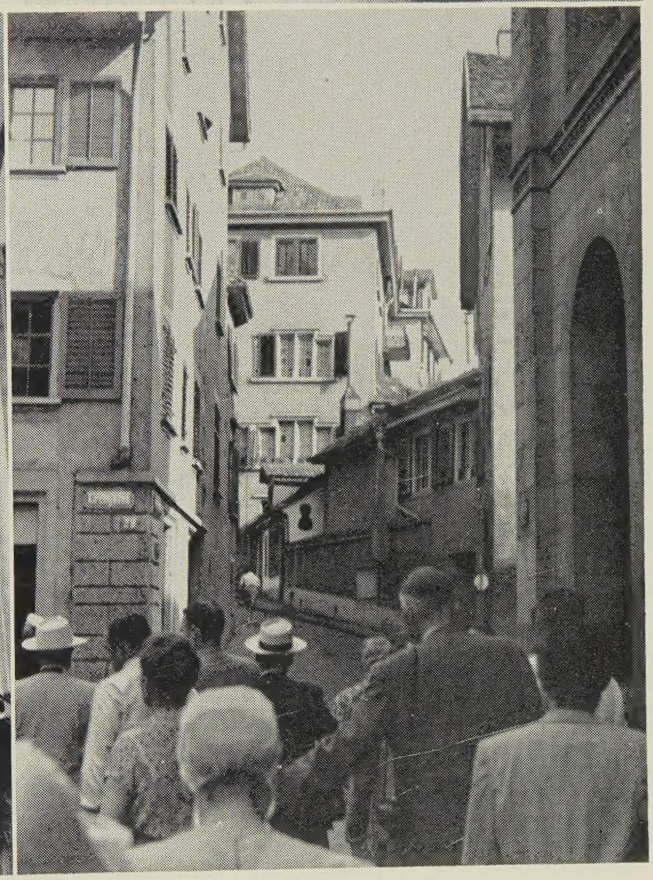
Conference Delegates Commemorating Founding of Anabaptist Movement in Zurich

On the closing day of the Conference a large group of elegates and guests went to Zurich for a commemorative ervice. Leading the procession as it enters the cathedral rea in Zurich are (left to right) Oscar Farmer, president of urich Church Council; C. F. Klassen, MCC representative; . S. Bender, presiding officer of the conference; and Fritz lanke, church historian, University of Zurich.

In the Grossmuenster where Zwingli preached and where rebel, Manz and other Swiss Brethren worshipped, Proessor Fritz Blanke (bottom) spoke on, "The Significance f Zurich for Anabaptists."

After the service in the Grossmuenster the Mennonites llowed their guides on a pilgrimage through the streets f Zurich (bottom right). They were shown the street leadng to the house where Conrad Grebel baptized George laurock, initiating the whole Anabaptist movement.





Interior of Eben-Ezer Hall, St. Chrischona, where conference sessions were held, during a group discussion. Translat the motto from II Cor. 12: 9 reads, "My strength is mighty in the weak." (Right) Walter Gering, Mountain Lake, dem strating I.B.M. translating apparatus.

Scenes from the Fifth Men

Ph

European students who had been exchange students at American Mennonite schools met with the Mennonite stud group touring Europe this summer to evaluate the exchange program.

The World Conference provided the occasion for the meeting of internationally known Mennonites such as J. M. Leendertz of Holland, J. J. Thiessen of Canada, Benjamin H. Unruh of Germany and H. Crandijk of Holland. (Right) Visiting in front of Eben-Ezer Hall, St. Chrischona.

l Conference, Basel, Switzerland

ker

"The Mennonite Singers" from Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, made a concert tour of Mennonite communities in Western Europe, and proved to be a very popular music group at the Conference.

ADVENTURES IN CHACO AGRICULTURE

BY MENNO KLASSEN

IN dealing with the subject of the agricultural experience of the Mennonites in Paraguay it must be remembered that agriculturally at least there are two separate and dissimilar regions in Paraguay. The only colonies dealt with are Menno, Fernheim, and Neuland. Menno is the Canadian colony and is the largest and oldest, dating back to 1926. Fernheim appeared on the scene after World War I and Neuland after World War II. The colonies in eastern Paraguay, namely Friesland, Volendam, Bergthal, and Sommerfeld are not discussed except by way of a few brief comparisons drawn between the two sections of the country.

Climate and Vegetation

The climate of the Chaco is sub-tropical, with temperatures ranging from light freezing during a few successive nights in some winters to maximum readings of 118°F in the shade in some of the hottest summers. Temperatures during the winter months are somewhat lower than in the summer but the great drought and the persistent north wind with its accompanying heat and dust do not make this season of the year the most pleasant. At the approach of evening, however, when the sun withdraws and the wind dies down, a healing balm envelops the land. Although the summer is hotter, this season to me was more easily tolerated because of the refreshing influence of green growth and periodic rains. The continental nature of the Chaco climate is reflected in great fluctuations of day to day temperatures and in an unpredictable distribution of rainfall. The average annual rainfall is about 29 inches but the great heat and high winds effect rapid evaporation with the result that the Chaco may be considered semiarid. The bulk of the precipitation occurs during the summer months but rainfalls are too light and too far between for optimum yields. The altitude of the country is low, ranging from 200 to 500 feet above sea level, and the topography rather flat. Unfortunately there are no high plateaus Paraguay, for they could profitably be used to produ temperate climate crops such as wheat. As it is, flo is being imported at high prices. Unlike eastern Par guay, the atmospheric humidity is very low in the Chac

It may be of interest also to know what this swelte ing region looks like. One receives the best over-all pi ture of the country from an airplane starting in Asunci and flying in a northwesterly direction toward the col nies. The first part of the flight takes one over swam sluggish intermittent streams and meadow land. By t time one is half way to the settlements these featur give way to bush as far as the eye can see. On approac ing the general area of the colonies one finds sm islands of grass, the larger ones from one to two mil across and from 2 to 6 miles apart. Some of these op areas are called "water campos" and some "bitter-gra campos." The former are found to the south and ea of the colonies. They are poorly drained, mosquito ri den and preferred for ranching. The bitter-grass camp are sandy and well drained and although they suppo scattered trees and shrubs, the dominant vegetation esparilla, a very bitter tasting grass not generally eat by live stock. It is on these bitter-grass campos that t villages of the three Chaco colonies are laid out. T trees and shrubs on the campos have to be cleared a though the amount of work this entails does not beg to compare with the clearing of the jungle found whe the colonies of eastern Paraguay are situated.

Today very little bush on non-campo land has be cleared for agriculture in the Chaco. Although the bus soil is very fertile, its alkaline nature presents certa water absorption problems not easily overcome. Tra through the bush connect the villages one with anoth and with their respective colony shopping centers. It

The Mennonite farmer and cowboy are real pioneers as they cultivate the wild Paraguayan Chaco.

Der mennonitische Bauer im Chaco im wahren Sinne des Wortes ein Pionier.

The Indians, formerly the sole occupants of the Chaco, now help the Mennonites in taming it.

Die Indianer, ehemals die einzigen Bewohner des Chaco, helfen ihn fruchtbar zu machen.

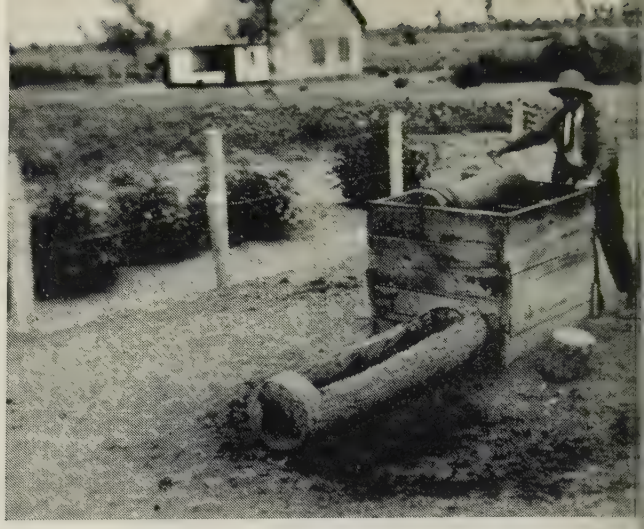
happens that nearly all agriculturally useful campos (i.e. for crop production) are concentrated in a relatively small area in the interior of the Chaco and this largely explains why they are situated so far from the river and from the Asuncion market. One hundred villages so situated are the homes of nearly eight thousand Mennonites. The village street usually cuts the campo in half at the diameter and along each side of it are measured out from twenty- to forty-acre farms which extend back to the bush. Most of the trees in the Chaco bush are thorny and dwarfed and of little value. A small percent of them are very valuable for fuel, posts, rough lumber and for quebracho and palo santo extract.

The Mennonites in the Chaco are practically the only farmers in that vast region, yet the settlement occupies only a small part of it. Several tribes of Indians, including the savage Moros, are the native sons of this unpopular part of the world. It is interesting to study the extent of their adaptation to their surroundings. A few Indian missions are scattered throughout the region. A number of ranchers, big and small, occupy the water campos. In addition, at least three narrow-gauged industrial railroads and several military outposts can be recorded but these still leave the Chaco relatively uninhabited, untampered with by man. This, of course, added to the problem of adaptation of the settlers for there was little accumulated information on Chaco agriculture and no experienced farmers nearby from whom to learn. Neuland, however, benefitted from what Menno and Fernheim learned over a 20-year period.

Planting and Harvesting

For all practical purposes winter ends and summer begins with the first effective rain after the dry season, usually in September or October. Winter begins when the annual drought returns in April and May. The first rain to moisten the sandy soil to a depth of 6 inches or more marks the beginning of plowing and planting operations. The seed bed is invariably prepared by plowing. All crops grown are intertilled. The seed is placed in the ground immediately after every third round of the 12-inch walking plow, giving a between-the-row spacing of 36 inches. Seeding is done either by hand or with the one row planter. A few days after the first rain the soil becomes too dry for plowing and planting, and the farmer is obliged to wait for succeeding rains to get the balance of his land planted. If the rains are light and infrequent it often happens that the first crops planted begin to ripen before seeding operations have been completed.

Although soil drifting is quite serious at times and the lighter soils are showing signs of decreasing fertility,



The Chaco farmer still uses horses and oxen. The old-fashioned village well supplies man and beast.

Der Chacobauer braucht noch Pferde und Ochsen. Der Dorfsbrunnen versorgt Mensch und Vieh mit Wasser.

it seems that very little is being done about it. Crop rotation is also not practiced to any great extent. Peanuts are usually planted on the lightest, poorest soil. Of the field crops grown, cotton, the cash and export crop, occupied the largest acreage. Sorghum ranks a close second and is grown for feed. It is preferred to corn because of its drought resisting qualities. Smaller acreage of peanuts and cowpeas are planted for food for the family and for Indian laborers. Cotton, planted in October, is a long season crop occupying the ground for the entire summer. The other crops mentioned mature earlier and if the season is favorable and no set backs occur it is possible to grow any two of them, one following the other, in the same field within a single year. Eastern Paraguay which enjoys more rainfall, produces up to three crops a year—the third one grown in winter being plowed under for green manure. This extra rainfall obtained in eastern Paraguay on the other hand makes cotton growing very difficult with the result that cash crop incomes are lower.

Sudan grass is grown for early summer feed. Guinea grass, also intertilled, is planted from root divisions for horse pasture. Sweet potatoes and mandioca are planted as the tropical substitutes for potatoes. Watermelons do exceptionally well and are enjoyed at Christmas time and later. The leaves and fruit of rosella are a great help in adding variety to the diet.

Crop production during the dry winter is confined to a little garden no bigger than the area occupied by a small house. Usually a half acre of garden beans are planted on a field basis. The summer is too hot for the hardier vegetables, yet the winter season, too, is all but favorable. Drought, strong hot winds and chickens are the main obstacles. These difficulties are partly overcome by protecting the plot with a picket fence and with frequent watering if time and water are available. It is therefore not hard to understand why vegetables are not available except for a few months in some years. Wheat flour from the Argentine has to be imported in abnormal quantities. In 1948 Fernheim bought flour to the extent of 45% of the value of her entire cotton crop.

The crops are all harvested by hand. Indian wor ers, if avilable, pick the cotton and cowpeas. Sorghu heads are cut off with a sharp knife and thrown into wagon, spread out to dry beside the granary and ston and fed unthreshed. A few bushels are threshed by ha and ground at the mill for breakfast cereal or flour use in *Kafirbrot*. Peanuts are plowed out with the mou board removed, windrowed for drying, then hauled to t yard for threshing. This is simply done by knocking t nuts off the plant over the edge of an open gasoline ba rel. Sweet potatoes are not stored, but dug as needed Sorghum stalks and sudan grass are chopped off wi a matchete.

Orchards and Water Supply

The first thing a proud tiller will show a visitor inte ested in his farm is the orchard. Of course it doesn't com pare with those of his former home-land but is probabl appreciated just as much. Lawns being practically no existant in Paraguay, the fruit trees take the place shade trees and are located in the front yard. There c will find orange trees, sour oranges, grapefruit, a nu ber of limes and a lemon tree or two. Guajaba grow every orchard. Less frequently but also planted are p payas (melon trees), dates, figs and grapes. For tho who have not accustomed themselves to the drinking yerba mate, the juice of sour oranges, limes or lemo is a most appreciated aid in improving the flavor of drinking water. Grapefruit are large and juicy and c farmer struck it lucky when he counted 1,000 grapefr from one tree in a single season. Guajaba are dried storage and used to make *Mus*. These fruits, althou generally not well enough adapted for commercial p duction, never-the-less provide refreshing variety for colonist's diet.

The availability of water is a prime consideration a hot and dry region. Sources of water are dug w shallow dugouts and cistern water. In addition to t some favorably located ranches have access to run water that accumulates in natural depressions called v ter campos. Rain water from thatched roofs is not

le but a few farmers who have been able to afford e or tin roofs and a concrete cistern have a good supply r all household uses. Others are dependent on the dug ell, the water of which is as a rule quite hard. Wells é also the most common source of water for the ani- als. The more ambitious gardeners water their garden om wells as ponds are usually not suitably located.

Wells average about thirty feet in depth and about ur feet in width. The depth of the well is determined y a stratum of clay which traps the water percolating own through the sand from the soil surface. As a rule ere is about one-two feet of water in these wells which xplains their limited capacity. Over one hundred deep ells have been drilled by the Union Oil Company in cattered places throughout the Chaco. They discovered hat practically all of them were very salty. One drilled ell was attempted by the Fernheim colony with disap- ointing results. The possibility of irrigating from the araguay River is remote as it is 150 miles away. The est answer for the irrigation of vegetable gardens now eems to be a pond for each village dug out of a spot here the clay is deep and yet not too far from good arden soil and the village. The villagers then could row their vegetables in plots around the pond and irri- ate using a jointly owned pump. Similar ponds suitably ocated for cattle would improve not only the water sit- ation but tend to distribute the grazing more uniformly ver the commons. The bulldozer recently shipped to araguay is to be used for such water developments as ell as for the building of roads.

Although there are many useful species of insects, irds and wild plant life in the Chaco, the destructive nes are most easily recalled. The most harmful ones in rder of importance are:

1. *Insects:* migratory locust, leaf cutting ant, cot- ton leaf worm, weevils in stored seeds and aphids.
2. *Birds:* pigeons, parrots, blackbirds, bobolinks.
3. *Plant Pests:* Burmuda grass (the tropical couch).

The introduction of chlordane and gammaxane in 948 to combat locusts marked one of the greatest ad- ances in the battle against the destructive elements of his untamed region. A recent report from the Chaco also sounds hopeful. It seems that an insecticide called "cinchlor" has been found equally as effective against the leaf cutting ant. An attempt was made to destroy harmful birds with strichnine poison but this has not noticeably reduced the birds nor the damage. So from the time that sorghum begins to head out until it is harvested much time is spent shooing birds. Methods used to eradicate Burmuda grass are as many as the opinions on how this should be accomplished. In this case, however, it is mainly a problem of proper equip- ment and power and the funds required to reclaim pol- luted land.

Cattle and Insects

Where new settlements are being established oxen are generally found to be the most suitable draft ani- mal, but after the first crops of sorghum straw and grain have been gathered, horses are gradually substi- tuted. They are of a light general purpose type and each farmer has from 3 to 5 of them. They are maintained on planted guinea grass pasture, sorghum and peanut straw, and on sorghum when in use. They are used mainly for plowing, for trips to town and church and for the hauling of produce to and from the railhead.

The cattle of Paraguay are largely "Creolla," a highly inbred animal originating in Spain. These animals are certainly not models for either milk production or beef according to our standards. Yet it is known that the highly bred American cow would not survive under Paraguayan conditions. It has been found that high producing Amer- ican cows transplanted into the tropics produce only half the milk on exactly the same care and rations. The explanation is that high temperature alone, not to men- tion other factors, has a depressing effect on the milk flow.

In the early days an attempt was made to herd the cows to prevent them straying and to insure their pres- ence for milking. This, however, presented endless trouble and hardship. One solution would have been to fence them in and plant grass but this has not been achieved for cows to this day. The Paraguayan system was adopted and consists of keeping the cows and the calves in a pen in the yard over night and in the morning after milking,

First homes in the Chaco are built of adobe. After helping start the flow of milk the calf is tied.

Das Pionierhaus im Chaco. Nachdem das Kalb den Anfang gemacht hat, kann das Melken beginnen.

the cows only are let out. They graze in the commons or bush land between the villages all day and if thirst does not bring them home in the evening, the calf in the pen usually does.

Another peculiarity about the Creolla is that they do not let the milk down without the necessary preambles and this is where the all important calf comes in. A few impatient bumps against the udder by the hungry calf quickly takes care of this problem. After a minute of feeding the calf is forcibly withdrawn and tied to the post at the front of the cow until milking is completed. If at any time the cow loses her calf the farmer loses the milk. When a cow freshens the farmer is obliged to look for the calf in the bush and take it home, placing it in the cow pen. The Casado Co. has provided the colonists with some grade Holstein bulls and although the milk yield has greatly improved, this wild trait in their nature has not yet been bred out. The average cow produces about three to five quarts of milk per day but some that receive supplementary feed such as cottonseed meal or sudan grass will produce more. Fluid milk sold locally, and butter and cheese in Asuncion, are in strong demand and give relatively good returns to the producer. Transporting butter without refrigeration is a problem in the hot summer season.

Overgrazing of the colony commons made it necessary for the councils to limit the number of cattle to each villager. At the same time provision was made for a Fernheim colony-operated ranch on a water campo to which all yearling and surplus cattle were driven. Some farmers who had sufficient cattle to start ranching on their own did so with good returns.

Beef is killed at the colony slaughter house twice a week and made available to all colonies. All surplus animals are either sold to the army or to meat can One of Paraguay's largest exports is corned beef. Ta in proportion to human population, Paraguay has m cattle than any other country in the world. Foot mouth disease is an almost annual occurrence in the H and this together with the secondary infestation of m gots in the open sores causes considerable annual of milk and beef, although very few of those having cess to water and fodder actually die from the dise Water shortage is serious in dry seasons.

Space does not permit a report on the experime and extension work being conducted. This program, sp sored jointly by Fernheim and the MCC is, since Peters returned, under the direction of Robert Un No mention has been made regarding important con butions toward agricultural advancement in the colo by some of the more adventurous of the pioneers. also regrets that the people themselves who have actu written all about this topic with their very lives, h received so little attention in this account.

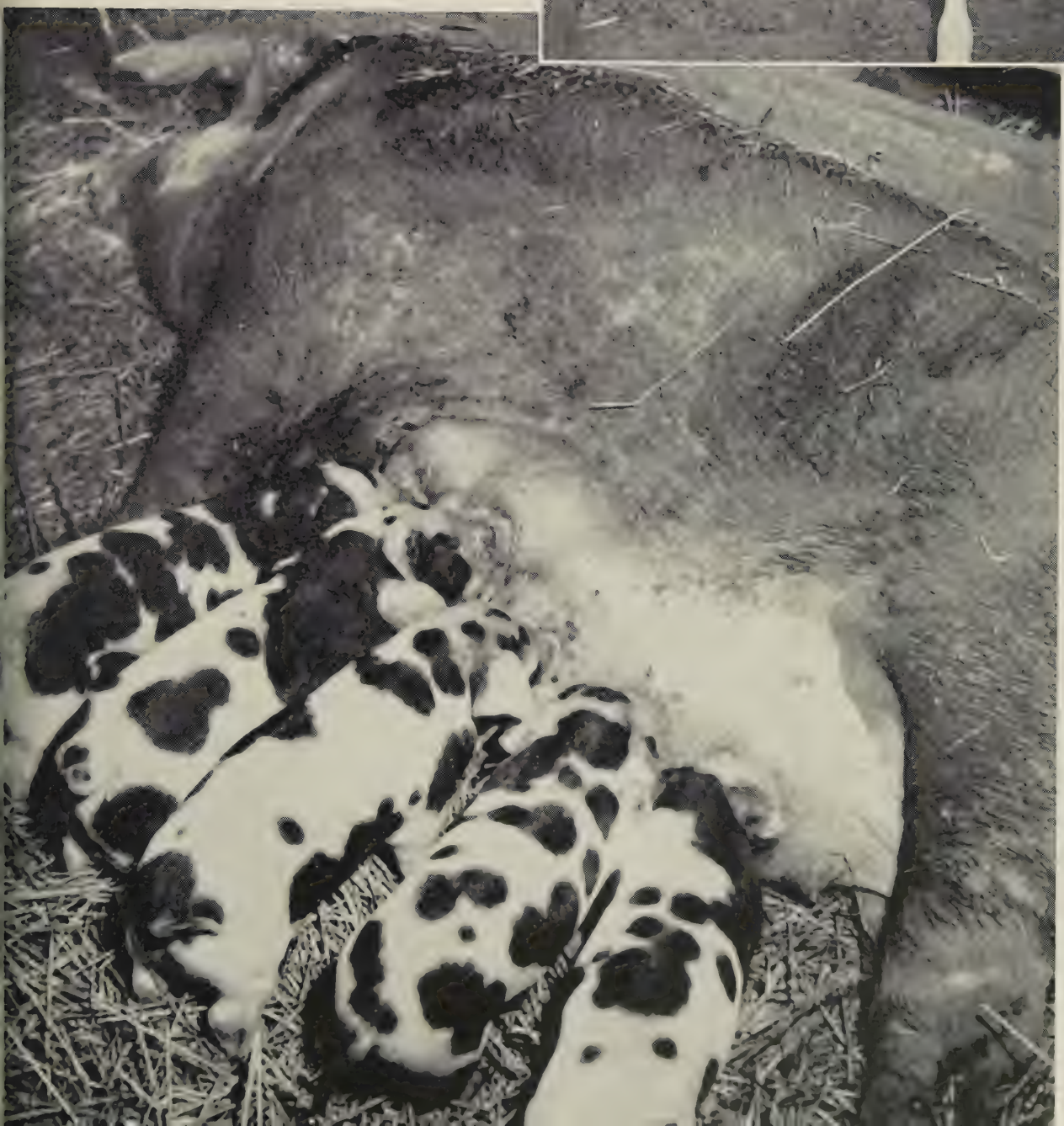
It takes the best spiritual fortification to come thro the testing experiences of life in the Chaco triumphan The hospitality of the people, their spirit of thankful and their courage to start again from the beginning w reverses come, can only be explained by their faith God and their assurance of abiding in His will. I deeply thankful that the Mennonite Central Commi which has played an important part in directing the pa of these pilgrims, is continuing with them in an atte to carry out the God-given responsibility of replen ing this ungenerous region and subduing the nega forces so unmistakably at work there.

The agricultural experiment farm in the Chaco showing machinery received from North America.

Landwirtſchaftliche Verſuchsſtation im Chaco mit Maſchinen von Nordamerika.

Lunch Time on the Farm

By Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Fanders



Shafter (left) and Wasco, California, communities are leading potato and cotton producing areas of the nation.

Shafter (links) und Wasco, Californien, wo Kartoffeln und Baumwolle gezogen werden.

THE SHAFTER--WASCO COMMUNITY

BY VERNON NEUFELD

WHEN the first Mennonite family came to the Shafter-Wasco area of California some thirty-five years ago, the valley region was mostly an arid desert with an occasional parched field of alfalfa, a vineyard, or perhaps a fruit orchard. During the intervening years, the miracle of irrigation and scientific farming have transformed a veritable wasteland into an agricultural empire unequaled anywhere in the world.

The earliest settlers in Kern County, in which Shafter and Wasco are located, were attracted by the rich mineral deposits of the Sierra Nevada Mountains and southward. The county played an important part in the gold rush days of the eighteen-fifties, resulting in its share of feuds, ghost towns, and legends. The first quartz vein was discovered in 1853; within a few years, miners were swarming the area for a share in the wealth. Oil was discovered in 1854; production of oil began in 1865. The foothills of the surrounding mountains were soon dotted with the derricks of producing oil wells. While the wealth of oil and mineral in the hills and mountains were being realized, the fertility of the soil in the valley below, hidden by sagebrush and sparse grass, lay dormant and unnoticed.

The first agricultural enterprise in the county was the raising of livestock. The sprawling range of the foothills and the river region afforded both summer and winter forage. Ranchers grazed their flocks and herds wherever the meager rainfall produced enough grass. Soon, in the early years of the twentieth century, small areas of the valley were planted to alfalfa to prov feed for the cattle. Irrigation was introduced by ca from the not-too-reliable Kern River; there were a wells, some artesian. This marked the beginning of fa ing—irrigated farming, which in a few years grew i a multi-million dollar enterprise.

The cities of Shafter and Wasco, some seven m apart, lie in Kern County at the southern end of San Joaquin Valley at an elevation of 300 feet. The v ley is guarded in the east by the towering Sierra Nev range and in the west by the coastal range. The sm amount of precipitation, an average of some six or se inches of rain a year, make irrigation imperative farming. The average summer temperature is 77° the winter, 49°F., extremes range from 20°F 110°F. The long growing season and mild climate per great crop diversification.

The Potato and Cotton Industry

The agricultural economy of the area has underg vast changes since the nineteen-twenties. During the ea years the farming plots were small—twenty, forty, eighty acres in size. The land was planted in vineya and orchards; Thompson seedless grapes, apricots, plu and peaches predominated. In recent years, however, trees and vines have largely been removed making ro for crops with greater and more certain returns. At same time, the number of acres under cultivation the number of acres per farm have steadily increas

Planting potatoes in February (left) and potato field seventy days later being irrigated every 2-4 days.

Die Kartoffeln werden im Februar gepflanzt. (Rechts) Nach 70 Tagen. Das Feld wird alle 2—4 Tage gewässert.

Cultivating cotton on Menno Siemens farm.

Menno Siemens—Farm, bei Wasco, California.

The total farming acreage of the county has doubled in the past fifteen years.

The potato industry was the first to come into its own in recent years. Potatoes were grown commercially as early as 1920 in the Shafter area; the late Simon Peters was a pioneer in producing this crop. In the nineteen-thirties it became evident that with proper fertilization and irrigation the soil could become very productive; soon potato production was a major industry. In 1951 Kern County shipped approximately twenty-five thousand carloads of potatoes valued at nearly twenty-five million dollars. At the peak of the harvest season, over a thousand carloads leave the county in one day. The county produces three-fourths of the state's potatoes. The Shafter-Wasco district, with approximately forty washing and packing sheds, is responsible for about 40 per cent of the county production.

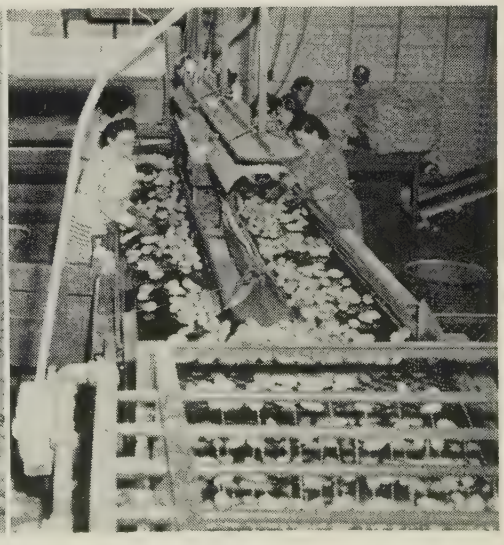
Another crop that seemed to have great possibilities during the early years was cotton. The promotion of cot-

E. J. Peters potato washing and packing shed, Wasco.

E. J. Peters Kartoffelspeicher in Wasco.

Potato harvest in the Shafter-Wasco community consists of digging, picking, washing, and grading potatoes.

Kartoffelernte in Shafter—Wasco: auspflügen, sammeln, waschen und sortieren.



John A. Neufelds. (Nick, front) left Mt. Lake for Shafter.

Von der Neufeld—Familie zog Nikolai nach Shafter.

ton as a major crop in Shafter and Wasco was greatly enhanced in the development by the United States Experimental Farm of new strains that were made adaptable to the area. The horticulturists of the Farm were successful in developing a strain which not only increased the yield per acre but also produced a fibre of longer staple, comparing favorably with imported Egyptian long-staple cotton. Recent years have brought a phenomenal increase in cotton production. Since 1946, cotton has led all other agricultural products in the county; it also heads the some two hundred crops of the state. In recent years, Kern County has been the leading cotton producing couny of the nation; during the past year, it produced nearly a half million 500-pound bales of cotton valued, together with its by-products, at over 117 million dollars. The great production is largely due to the warm, prolonged growing season and to the fertile soil. Kern County farms over a five-year average produced 677 prounds of lint cotton an acre in comparison to the national average of 280 pounds.

There are several factors why cotton has taken pre cedence over potatoes in recent years as a major indus try. Potatoes cannot be grown on the same ground ove a period of years without contracting a disease know as "scab," which makes the tuber unmarketable. Cro rotation is not a great aid in preventing or eliminatin the disease. This means that expansion of farming t virgin soil is highly desirable to insure the production o clean, smooth potatoes. Such expansion has consistentl been going on; there is, however, little virgin soil of th fine sandy loam type left. In addition, the high cost o producing potatoes together with an unpredictable mar ket is prohibitive to many farmers; it costs $150 an acr to grow potatoes to the harvest stage and twice tha amount to prepare them for the market. Cotton, on th other hand, costs less than half as much as potatoes t produce and the market is far more stable.

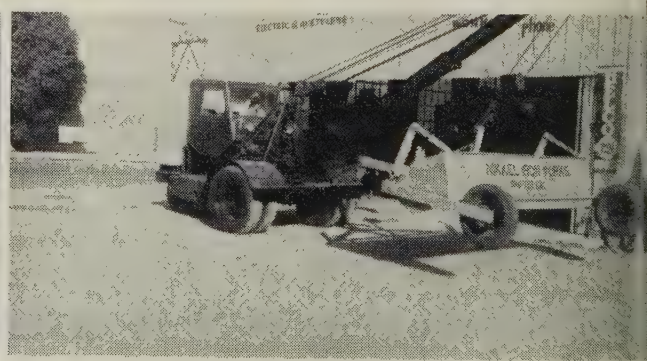
Cotton and potatoes are not the only crops raise in the Shafter-Wasco region. A crop production repor of the Wasco area lists thirty-five crops growing in tha vicinity. Among these, the most widely grown are alfalf for seed and hay, sugar beets, onions, small grains grapes, and fruit.

The Shafter-Wasco area is irrigated almost exclusive ly with water pumped from underground sources b deep-well turbine pumps. Wells go to depths of up to thousand feet and water must be lifted an average o 150 feet. The pumps yield volumes of water ranging u to over two thousand gallons per minute. The water i distributed to the fields by an underground concrete pip system; periodic outlets permit even distribution of th water. The great drain on the underground water suppl caused by the expansion of farming has created grea concern among the valley farmers. There is some hop for relief in the development of the Central Valley Pro ject, which is aimed at harnessing the water-shed of th Sierra Nevadas for irrigation purposes.

Before virgin soil can be irrigated, the ground re quires leveling to the proper fall or slope. Although th valley floor is relatively flat, all land has needed mor or less work to insure proper irrigation. During the earl years, the leveling was done by horses or mules an

The early shop (left) of Albert Nikkel which has grown into the Nikkel Iron Works (right) of today.

Aus einem Schuppen entstand ein blühendes Maschinengeschäft unter der Leitung von Nikkel.



Cotton gin of Maple Leaf Cotton Corp. (E. J. Peters).

The Neufeld Farms potato packing shed near Wasco.

Hand pickers who will soon be replaced by machinery (below), at work. Weighing and drawing cotton into the gin. Alte und neue Methode des Pflückens der Baumwolle. Allmählich werden die Arbeiter durch mechanische Pflücker ersetzt.

The Nic Neufeld family enjoys a picnic. (Below) Shafter Mennonite Congregation after reorganization in 1936.

Fresno hand scrapers; now Caterpillars, carry-alls and similar equipment do the gigantic task of moving tons of earth. Fields are generally leveled to irrigate in quarter-mile rows, the amount of slope depending upon the natural fall of the land and upon the type of soil. Thus a quarter section of land, 160 acres, is divided into two parts, each irrigated in quarter-mile rows; at the head of each eighty acre field, the underground concrete pipe line delivers the water for distribution.

Farming is now conducted with the almost exclusive use of mechanized equipment. Besides the tractor and proper tools for preparing the soil and cultivating the crops, more and more labor-saving equipment is being used in harvest, heretofore done largely by hand labor. Experimental potato diggers are in the field which, when perfected, will replace the large hand crews now employe During the past four years mechanical cotton picke have been introduced and are rapidly replacing the l borers. The total effect of this trend toward mechaniza tion upon the thousands of migrant laborers who wi be replaced cannot yet be determined, but undoubted the adjustment will be made in due time, just as th combine and corn-picker have become a part of th wheat and corn picture in the mid-west.

Early Mennonite Settlers

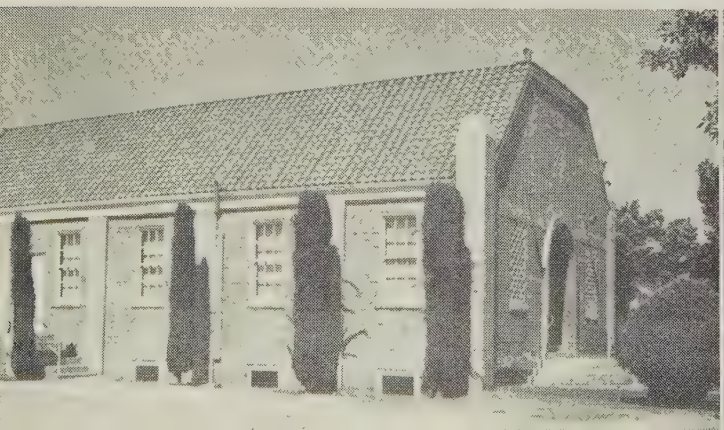
Mennonites make up only a relatively small part the estimated twenty thousand people who live in th Shafter and Wasco communities; the Mennonite Breth ren and the General Conference Mennonite churches ha a total membership of about five hundred. The peop of the community are represented by many ethnic an racial origins; settlers have come from practically eve state of the nation. There is a large Mexican settleme near Shafter and another colony of Mexicans and N groes in Wasco. Much of the population is transien which comes and goes with the planting and harvesti seasons of the various agricultural crops. There a many churches, Wasco having nineteen and Shafter fi teen. Though numerically small, the Mennonite settle have played an important part in the development of th area in the past and still do at the present.

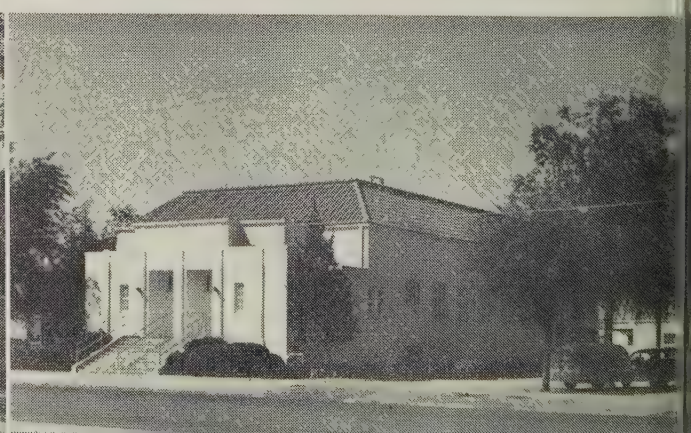
Albert Nikkel, with his parents Mr. and Mrs. Jo Nikkel, came to Shafter from Escondido, California, 1917. After working several years, Nikkel opened a black smith shop in Shafter. This business has grown into th large Nikkel Iron Works of today, which Nikkel operat with his son Jack. In addition to blacksmithing an welding, the company sells implements and manufactur farm equipment.

Included among the early Mennonite farmers we the brothers, J. J. Siemens and G. J. Siemens. The sma farming enterprises begun by them have since been tak over and expanded by their sons, Menno and Reube Ernest and William.

In 1920 Nicolai Neufeld and his family moved to thirty-acre farm near Shafter. Neufeld came to the Unite States with his parents, John A. Neufeld, from Stavropo Russia, in about 1900, settling in Mt. Lake, Minnesot from there the family moved to Escondido, California an then to Shafter. The Nic Neufeld sons Ernest, Edwi

The First Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Brethren Church of Shafter were both built in 1939.





SHAFTER -- WASCO HOMES AND CHURCHES

Shafter-Wasco homes. (Left to right from top to bottom) Homes of Henry H. Gaede, Harvey Gaede, Albert Nikkel, Carl R. Neumann, J. Waldo Unruh, Theodore G. Heinrichs, A. F. Isaac, and G. J. Siemens.

Wohnungen von Mennoniten in Shafter—Wasco, California, und ihre Kirchen (links).

and Lester are independently farming large tracts of land in the Shafter and Wasco communities.

One of the earliest settlers was Simon Peters, a former hardware merchant of Waldheim, Saskatchewan, Canada, who came here with his family in 1920 and purchased forty acres of land. He was a pioneer potato grower with five acres in his first year in Shafter. In 1935 Peters, together with his son Edward J., started a potato washing and packing business. During the past few years this business has been expanded by the younger Peters into two corporations, Maple Leaf Cotton Corporation and Maple Leaf Industries, Inc. The former company operates a cotton gin near Wasco. The industries include a variety of enterprises such as farming, washing and packing potatoes, selling seed, fertilizer, insecticides and petroleum products. The latest venture is the Maple Leaf Broadcasting Company (See *Mennonite Life*, July, 1952, p. 128). The permanent personnel of the Maple Leaf organization is predominantly Mennonite, including in addition to E. J. Peters, P. A. Neufeld, Allen Bartel, T. G. Heinrichs, J. Waldo Unruh, and Elbert Franz.

The family of H. J. Gaede, from Medford, Oklahoma, came to the area in the twenties. The first member to arrive in Shafter was Curt, who opened the first barber shop in the town in 1920. Jake soon followed his brother and settled on a farm. Henry began farming near Shafter in 1922; he and his sons, Harvey (also an automobile dealer), George and Leonard, are still independent farmers in the area. Others of the H. J. Gaede family included Jake Neufeld (Marie), George, John, Carl Neumann (Elizabeth), and John Reimer (Bertha); all settled and lived near Shafter at one time or another. H. J. Gaede served as pastor of the First Mennonite Church for some time.

Mennonite Churches

There are two Mennonite churches located in the Shafter-Wasco area; both the Mennonite Brethren and the First Mennonite churches are in the city of Shafter. Two other Mennonite Brethren churches are found nearby, in Rosedale and in Bakersfield.

The Mennonite Brethren Church. In 1918 a small group of Mennonites gathered in the home of the late Henry Kohfeld for fellowship and worship. This was the beginning of the Mennonite Brethren Church which was organized December 29, 1918 with Peter P. Rempel elected as minister. Services for some time were conducted in the public school building, but soon a temporary structure was erected in Shafter.

As more and more people settled in the area, the tabernacle was enlarged several times. By 1937 the membership had grown to such an extent that it became necessary to build a new church to care for the increased needs; the new structure cost approximately thirty-five thousand dollars. The outreach of the church was extended to the large farm worker population which had no church of its own; the young people opened two missions, one in North Shafter and the other in South Shafter. Recently, fine chapels have been built in both of these communities to serve these people.

Since the organization of the church under Rempel's leadership, the following have served as ministers: Herman Janzen, K. G. Neufeld, Wm. J. Bestvater, H. D. Wiebe, J. J. Toews, J. J. Wiebe, and the present minister, Waldo Wiebe. The membership of the Mennonite Brethren Church is now over four hundred.

The First Mennonite Church. Settlers of this group began migrating to the Shafter-Wasco area around 1920, some earlier, many later. Under the leadership of Herman Janzen, the group felt the need to band together as a congregation. For some time in the early twenties meetings wre held in the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The First Mennonite Church was formally organized in April, 1922. A frame structure was built in the country, about two miles west of Shafter, to house the new congregation. The first pastor called was Bernhard Janzen; others serving in the early years were Henry Wiebe, Isaac Friesen, and H. J. Gaede.

In 1929 the church closed its doors when many of the families left the community. The structure was dismantled and the remaining families worshipped with other congregations, the Mennonite Brethren and the Baptists. In a sense, the First Mennonite Church was transferred north to Dos Palos, California, where some of the families settled and where a church was in effect for a few years.

In 1936 the First Mennonite Church was again organized with an influx of some of the old families and some new ones as well; Rev. H. J. Krehbiel of Reedley was very helpful in the reorganization. Meetings were held in a school classroom for some time with J. F. Bergen and Albert Schmidt as ministers. In 1937 the new red brick structure of the First Mennonite Church in the city of Shafter was completed and dedicated. Others who have served the church as ministers are Gustav Frey, Edgar Toevs, Arthur D. Wenger, John Bartel, and the present minister, Earnest Schroeder. The church membership at present stands at about seventy-five.

A MENNONITE REFERENCE LIBRARY

In this issue, as in each October number, we are again presenting the annual index. Your back issues thus become more valuable and deserve to be kept for future reference. For this purpose we are offering a sturdy black binder with MENNONITE LIFE stamped in gold on the cover. This binder will hold ten issue and is offered for $2.00.

All back issues (since 1946) are still available and are offered at a special rate of $3.50 for any ten copies. All seven years of publication are now also available in three bound volumes as announced on the inside front cover.

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MENNONITE LIFE
North Newton, Kansas

(Left) the Abraham J. Kroeker family about 1905. "Raduga" publishing house administration and staff, Halbstadt, Russia. Heinrich Braun (seated, center) Abraham J. Kroeker (right of center) and David Issac (left of center) were the owners of "Raduga."

A. Kroeker—Familie während der ersten Jahre seiner Tätigkeit an der „Friedensstimme." „Raduga," Halbstadt, 1911: David Isaak, Heinrich Braun (Mitte), Abr. Kroeker.

ABRAHAM J. KROEKER--Writer and Publisher

ABRAHAM J. Kroeker was born November 28, 1863 in the village of Rosenort, Molotschna, Ukraine. From 1881 to 1887 he taught school. In 1889 he joined the Mennonite Brethren Church and served as evangelist from 1891 to 1897. From 1897 till 1918 he edited and published the yearbook, *Christlicher Familienkalender*. This yearbook is still a valuable source of information pertaining to the religious and the economic life of the Mennonites of Russia.

In cooperation with his cousin Jacob Kroeker, he started the publication of the first Mennonite periodical in Russia in 1903 named *Die Friedensstimme*. In 1904 he joined with others in the founding of the publishing enterprise and printshop named *Raduga* at Halbstadt, Molotschna, of which he was the manager until 1920.

In October, 1921 he had to flee, arriving in America via Constantinople in April, 1922. At first he lived in Winnipeg later moving to Mountain Lake, Minnesota. Here he established a book store and wrote and published several books dealing with the Mennonites in Russia and his experience under Communism. *Meine Flucht,* which was translated into the English *(My Flight),* and *Bilder aus Soviet-Russland* are two of the titles.

Kroeker had married Agatha Langemann, September 10, 1892. His family followed him to Mountain Lake in 1924. A. J. Kroeker died in Mountain Lake, Minnesota, November 22, 1944. Mrs. Kroeker lives with her daughter, Margaretha, in Winnipeg. The other children—Jacob, Martin, Agathe, Abraham and John—live in the United States and Canada.

A. J. Kroeker made a significant contribution in the realm of Mennonite writing and publishing in which field he was one of the pioneers among the Mennonites in Russia.

A. J. and Agatha Kroeker (Right) "Raduga" bookstore.

A. Kroeker und Frau und Buchhandlung, „Raduga".

GOING TO MARKET--PHILADELPHIA

By DOROTHY M. HUNSBERGER

EACH Sunday after morning worship at the Deep Run Mennonite church in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, has adjourned, a group of men can be seen gathered outside for a second meeting—this time of a more informal nature. They are the congregation's 14 per cent who are engaged in the butter, egg, and poultry business and whose wives can't drag them away for an early dinner before they have had a chance to exchange the latest shop talk and going-to-market anecdotes.

Since the days of William Penn when Bucks was one of Pennsylvania's three existing counties, going to market has been a principal occupation among Mennonites and in popularity is probably only second to farming itself. In Bucks County and adjacent Montgomery County there are some 150 men who belong to the Eastern Pennsylvania Butter and Egg Distributors association while approximately 150 more are engaged in the same business but do not belong to the association. Of this number, it is estimated that about half are either Mennonites or come from a Mennonite background.

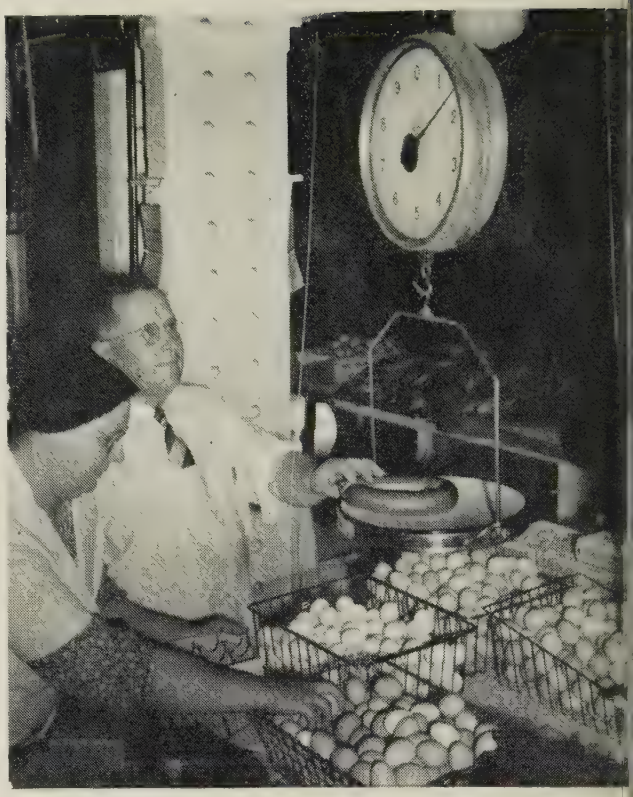
In many instances, it is not unusual to find families who have been engaged in the market or produce business for several generations.

Philadelphia, only thirty miles away and the nation's third largest metropolis, provides a natural outlet for the products of this rich agricultural area. Even as early as 1683, enterprising Bucks Countians picked up a few extra dollars by riding horseback to Philadelphia with paniers of farm produce slung over their horses.

In the Days of the Revolution

That they were an important source of food for Philadelphia during Revolutionary days was shown when the British commander, General Howe, who had gained possession of Philadelphia, tried to prevent Mennonite farmers from bringing their product to town. Howe hoped to starve American patriots until they were forced to surrender, but the farmers needed the market and persisted in sneaking into the city at great risk of imprisonment.

The story is told of one Mennonite farmer who was caught by British officials when he undertook to supply his customers in the usual manner. His prospects looked gloomy but, endowed with a sweet voice and a strong faith, he kept in a cheerful mood. All night long he charmed and amused the watchmen with his exquisite music. In fact, his jovial nature and fine music so delighted his captors that they released him the next morning.



Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Mayer, at Reading Terminal Market Philadelphia. They are members of Blooming Glen Mennonite Church.

From Sheds to Terminal Market

These early market men and their Nineteenth Century successors, who switched from horseback to conestoga-type market wagons, continued to play an important role in the city's history, causing many a civic controversy over the mushroom assortment of stalls that began blocking several of Philadelphia's main thoroughfares on Wednesday and Saturday. As the expanding market in a growing city became more and more of a bottleneck, city councilmen faced the problem of finding a location large enough in a spot where it wouldn't be a nuisance to residents or hinder the city's commerce.

In one of these attempts to expand market facilities indignant residents succeeded in tearing down the new building by night as fast as it was erected during the day. It wasn't until 1858 that the last of the market sheds were moved from the middle of the streets to other quarters. Now, the best-known of the city markets is the one occupying the basement of the Reading Terminal building—one which covers almost the area of an entire city block.

Housewives Help

Philadelphia housewives, eager to buy corn on the cob still sweet with its natural juices, country-made scrapple and chickens that were cackling on the farm just the day before, flock to this terminal market where

Since William Penn, Mennonites have been selling produce in Philadelphia. Some 300 now follow this occupation.

they have learned to trust the Moyers, Alderfers, and other Mennonite farmers from Bucks, Montgomery, and Lancaster counties.

Since going to market is a family affair for many of the terminal tenants, it is not unusual to see the stalls tended by plump Mennonite women whose black bonnets are in direct contrast to the white uniforms demanded by market regulations. On the days when they don't go to market, these same women may help with the butchering, tend a garden that produces fresh tomatoes, string beans, and peppers for city consumption, or they may get up early to bake Pennsylvania Dutch shoo-fly pie and other delicacies to be sold at their stalls.

Not all of Bucks County's produce men, however, occupy stalls in the Terminal Market. Many of them operate street routes, serving a regular group of customers, who may be the middle-class population of older Philadelphia or the socially prominent of the city's famous "Main Line."

In Grandfather's Time

Going to market until just a few decades ago was an elaborate occasion, one that required great preparation, the cooperation of the whole neighborhood and the excitement of staying overnight in the "big city."

Historians, recording events along famous Old York Road, one of the leading entries to Philadelphia, tell of the procession of farm-wagons that could be seen struggling through the mire of unpaved road, their wagons almost touching each other in order that drivers and horses would have company and assistance if trouble occured. Horses were stuffed with food three or four days ahead and, as a result, often lay down suffering with cramps.

Then too, to lighten the horses' load, the marketmen usually made part or half of their journey on foot. In later years, the produce was often shipped by train or trolley and horses were rented in the city to carry the farmers over their scheduled route.

Once the strenuous road to market had been conquered, however, there were any number of compensations for the eager farmers who had many anecdotes to tell on their return. There were tales of marketmen who had their pockets picked or turkeys stolen and tales of the dreaded clerk of weights and measures who would confiscate any article found short in weight and then, to impress the uninitiated, there was the frightening story of the massive iron chain which stretched across the entrance to the city and, according to the legend, it was necessary for the lad going on his first market trip to gnaw this iron chain in two.

Thus, going to market was more than a means of earning one's livelihood. It was a social event that marked one as a man of distinction. At night, the hucksters reunited in a "Canterbury" atmosphere at one of several hotels which catered to the country men. They exchanged tall stories, visited a nearby ice cream parlor,

(Continued on page 179)

Grandfather's market-day trips to Philadelphia differed from a ride in today's walk-in trucks.

PIGEON

Smallest but not necessarily the least is the pigeon. Not only does he provide food but he has proven himself a capable messenger when other of man's ingenious means of communication fail. He is first in our gallery.

CHICKEN

The rooster is credited with being man's first alarm clock Perhaps even more outstanding is his ability to supply us with those delicious Sunday chicken dinners. And wh could think of breakfast without the hen's contribution

DUCK

Proclaiming his right in the barnyard in raucous and strident tones is the quacking duck. At Christmas time he comes into his own as he graces our dinner tables. Those soft downy feathers—how could we do without them?

GOOSE

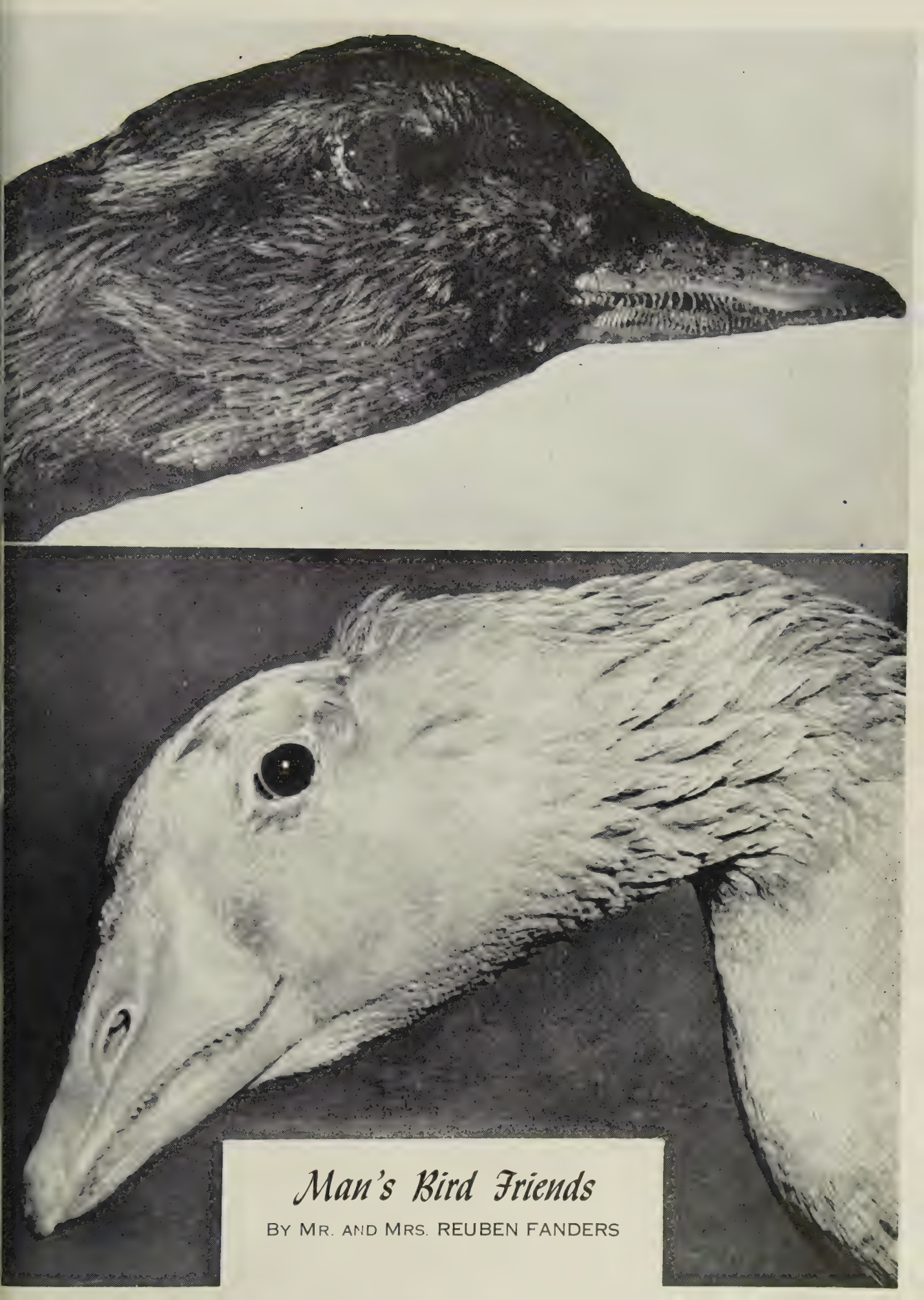
While the duck is small and the turkey a bit dry, nothin can compare with the flavor of a well-roasted goose. The too, there is nothing like a mattress made of goose feathers Strutting stately, the goose appears aloof from other birds

TURKEY

It seems that Thanksgiving somehow grew around the turkey— at least he has become synonomous with all things concerning that festal day. He is a majestic picture as he struts proudly—truly a king of the farmyard!

GUINEA

Perhaps there are those who will resent the inclusion a this noisy "friend" of man. Their eggs are small and the meat has a gamy flavor. But hawks are seldom seen abou barnyards where sharp-beaked and alert guineas patro



Man's Bird Friends

BY MR. AND MRS. REUBEN FANDERS

David and Helena Riesen Goertz were among the first Mennonite pioneers in Kansas from Russia.

David und Helene Goerz kamen im Jahre 1873 von Berdjansk nach Amerika, wo sie vorbildliche Pioniere waren.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PIONEER DAVID GOERZ

By D. C. WEDEL

THERE is an interpretation of history which insists that it is the great men who live from time to time who bring about events. History is really written in terms of great men. Their contribution is so outstanding that all of history which follows is changed. We may not subscribe to this theory but the truth remains, nevertheless, that there are leaders in a nation, among a people, who influence both events of the present and those who participate in them, and in consequence all of posterity.

The importance of immediate events is never evident at the moment when they occur. Thus June 28, 1849, the day when David Goerz was born, was not only a day which brought joy and happiness to Heinrich and Agnetha Goerz and a few relatives in the village of Neubereslav near Berdjansk, Russia; the full significance of this event is still dawning upon us. Already during his youth David Goerz displayed qualities which elicited the wish from his mother that he might become either a minister or a teacher. It was not long until he distinguished himself as an outstanding student at the Orloff *Vereinschule* at Molotschna. While in school he earned part of his expenses. It was here that his teacher taught him the art of surveying, which he used extensively later on the Bethel College campus. His proficiency in his study and work program led to an office position with the large Cornies estate. His work was so well done that he was given additional responsibilities.

At the age of eighteen, David Goerz began his teaching career in Berdjansk. His eighteenth year was important also because it marked the year of his baptism which he described as a "wonderful experience." He gave private instructions to the children of Cornelius Janzen at Berdjansk. Berdjansk not only gave him the opportunity to exercise his pedagogical ability but it was here that he met Helene Riesen who later became his wife. They were married June 29, 1870, after which he continued his teaching career for several years. Then followed the exciting events which led to the immigration to America.

The Great Migration

The migration to America was preceded by a steady correspondence with his friend Bernhard Warkentin who had arrived in America June 5, 1872. In these letters Warkentin told of his experience in meeting leading Mennonites already here, railroad and land agents, and representatives of the government. There were descriptions of the prairie states and what could be expected by those who might want to settle there. David Goerz would copy these letters, often spending most of the night in this way in order to make them available to those who were thinking seriously of migrating from the various villages. He also kept his friend in America well informed as to the impression these letters made.

In one of these letters David Goerz revealed that Berdjansk, where he, Elder L. Sudermann and C. Jansen lived, was the nucleus of the migration movement. In a letter dated January 28, 1873, he wrote that L. Sudermann had been elected as a delegate to investigate the conditions in America. He also informed his friend that the neighboring colony, Bergthal, had five hundred families who desired to come to America.

David Goerz and his wife had decided to come to America with a group of Crimean Mennonites, but were detained because of difficulties in getting their passports. They arrived in November of the year 1873 and proceeded to Summerfield, Illinois, where Goerz taught in a Mennonite school. In 1875, David Goerz with a group of Summerfield Mennonites settled at Halstead, Kansas. Here he served as editor of *Zur Heimat,* and manager of the Western Publishing House. When the immigration tide brought many poor people who could not pay for their passage, a relief agency was organized bearing the name "The Mennonite Board of Guardians." David Goerz served as an agent and secretary of this Board for sixteen years and was helpful in seeing immigrants through customs, procuring railroad transportation for them, helping them in their exchange of money, and seeing them located in their new western homes.

David Goerz believed in cooperation and organized the first Mennonite Teachers Conference in Kansas in 1877 where the resolution was adopted to call a meeting of the Kansas Conference which later became the Western District Conference. This action was possible because the ministers had been invited to the Teachers' Conference which met in the home of Heinrich Richert, Alexanderwohl. For years David Goerz was either secretary or chairman of the Conference. He likewise served as a trustee of the Conference from 1887 until his health began to fail. The constitution of the Conference adopted in 1896 was largely his work. When a committee of three was formed which was to submit a plan to the Conference for carrying on home and foreign mission work David Goerz was again in the midst of this work. In 1880 he organized the Mennonite Mutual Fire Insurance Company for the protection of the early pioneers exposed to devastating prairie fires.

Publication and Missions

When in 1875 the Goerz' followed the stream of Mennonite immigration to the West, his little paper, *Zur Heimat,* which he had started in Summerfield, also was transferred. He continued its publication for six years at Halstead, Kansas. *Zur Heimat* was published by the Western Publishing Company of which W. M. Ewert, B. Warkentin, David Goerz, Peter Wiebe, and John Lehman were directors.

In 1881 the German publication of the Eastern District Conference *Der Mennonitische Friedensbote,* and *Zur Heimat* were merged, the new Conference paper being called *Christlicher Bundesbote,* published by the General Conference Mennonite Church.

David Goerz was one of those who, having found

David Goerz was editor of the pioneer periodical, *Zur Heimath,* and manager of the publishing house.

Trustees of the General Conference Mennonite Church, at Beatrice, Nebraska, 1908. (Left to right, seated) David Goerz, J. B. Baer, A. B. Shelly, S. F. Sprunger. (Standing) J. S. Hirschler, C. F. Claassen, J. J. Krehbiel, and Christian Krehbiel.

the "pearl of great price," was also ready to share it. He early developed an interest both in home and foreign missions. In 1890 he read a paper on home missions before the General Conference which was published in 1892.

In 1900 he made a trip to India to distribute 8,000 bushels of donated grain among the starving natives, and to investigate the possibilities of carrying on foreign mission work. He found a suitable location around Champa, where the mission to the lepers was later established by the late P. A. Penner.

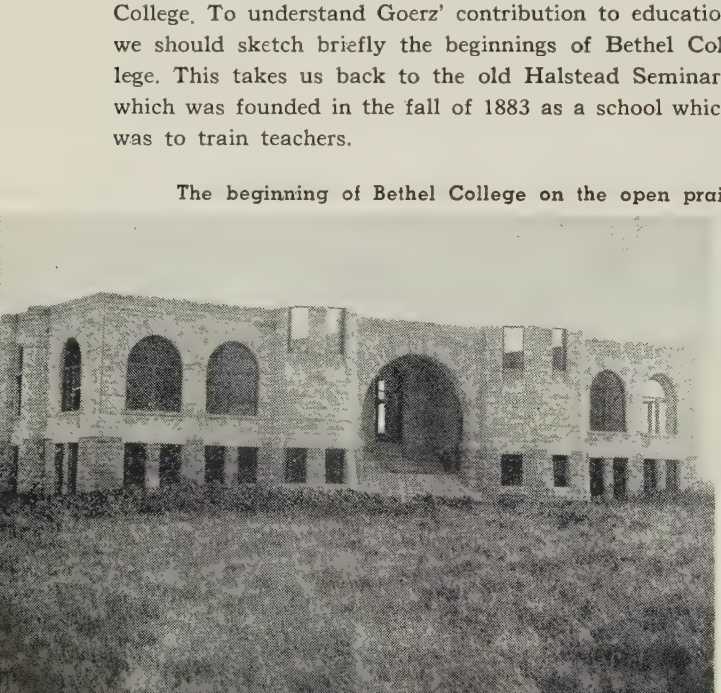
Bethel College

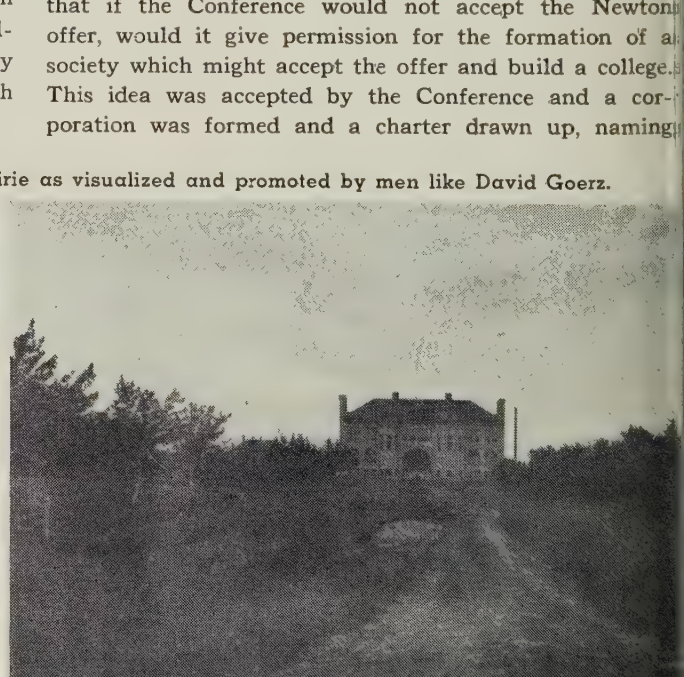
David Goerz was closely connected with the founding of the Halstead Seminary which later became Bethel College. To understand Goerz' contribution to education we should sketch briefly the beginnings of Bethel College. This takes us back to the old Halstead Seminary which was founded in the fall of 1883 as a school which was to train teachers.

At times when the support of the Halstead Seminary was very uncertain, when the congregations belonging to the Kansas Conference failed to raise the budget, David Goerz dreamed of collecting an endowment fund to make the school self supporting. While struggling with this problem of the expansion of the Seminary, an offer came which completely surprised the Mennonites. An organization called "The Newton College Association" had been in the race with Winfield to have the Methodist college located at Newton. Winfield had won the race and Newton now made an offer for the erection of a Mennonite college.

A special session of the Conference was called on April 27, 1887, to consider the offer. However, no decision could be reached. The question was now submitted that if the Conference would not accept the Newton offer, would it give permission for the formation of a society which might accept the offer and build a college. This idea was accepted by the Conference and a corporation was formed and a charter drawn up, naming

The beginning of Bethel College on the open prairie as visualized and promoted by men like David Goerz.





Bethel College group, 1899. Among the faculty (fourth row from bottom) are C. H. Wedel, David Goerz, and G. A. Haury.

the college "Bethel." The incorporators appointed a board of trustees consisting of John J. Krehbiel, Bernhard Warkentin, David Goerz, Heinrich Ewert, D. C. Ruth, Abraham Quiring, C. R. Mclain, J. M. Ragsdale, and A. B. Gilbert.

The question of whether to accept the Newton offer was by no means the only difficulty in getting Bethel College established. There were hardships and discouragements of various kinds.

The cornerstone of the administration building of Bethel College was laid on October 12, 1888. Even before the building was completed it was evident that the college would need more buildings. This need was partly met when the buildings of the Halstead Seminary were purchased, and the best of those brought to the Bethel College campus. David Goerz continued to work at this problem of finding ways and means for student housing. When the need for a girls dormitory became acute, confiding his need to his friend Peter Jansen, he urged the latter to write Andrew Carnegie expressing this need. Somewhat dubious about the outcome of this venture, Peter Jansen wrote and soon had a reply which held little promise for a gift. Jansen wanted to give up, but not so David Goerz. He insisted on further negotiations and told Jansen what he should write and how he should make this urgent need clear to Carnegie. David Goerz' persistence through Jansen brought a gift of $10,000 for the dormitory now known as Carnegie Hall.

When Bethel College opened its doors in fall of 1893 with C. H. Wedel as the first president, David Goerz served as the first business manager. He wanted Bethel to be the best school possible. He was interested in securing the best faculty possible for Bethel.

David Goerz wanted the Bethel campus to be beautiful. The monument to this desire is seen in the home he built on the campus—Goerz Hall. This demonstrated careful planning and fine landscaping. It was in planning for the beauty of the campus that he made frequent use of his knowledge of surveying which he had learned in Russia.

David Goerz continued to serve Bethel until 1910, when ill health compelled him to relinquish this work. Bethel was, however, always in his thought. Even in his death he expressed his concern for Bethel, calling his son Rudolph to his side he said, "You will do for our Bethel what you can, won't you?" Upon being reassured by Rudolph that he would do what he could, David Goerz smiled and breathed his last.

Hospital Work

David Goerz was not only a pioneer in our educational development but also in deaconess work. Whoever else may have entertained the thought that there was a place in the work of God's Kingdom for women who were consecrated for work of this type, he was the first to express this interest and act upon it. In 1890 he read a paper before the General Conference convening in South Dakota emphasizing the importance of this and showing that it logically belonged in the area of home missions. His paper was based upon a wide read-

The ground breaking of the Bethel Deaconness Home, 1925, with Mrs. Bernhard Warkentin officiating.
Bethel Diakonissenheim und Hospital im Hintergrund. Beginn des Baues des Altenheimes (Frau B. Warkentin mit Spaten)

ing of books, and pamphlets. The more he read the more he became interested.

Three years later, when the Conference met in Ohio, the subject was discussed again and as a result, the Board of Home Missions was instructed by the Conference to make this work its concern. Nothing more was done for some years. However, in 1900 the late Sister Frieda Kaufman expressed her interest in deaconess work and presented herself as a candidate to David Goerz. This posed a real problem. When David Goerz was ready to leave for India in the interest of missions and food distribution, he made a vow that if he would return in safety he would do all he could to see the deaconess work established. Meanwhile he made arrangements at Bethel College to have Sister Frieda begin preparatory studies. The next step in the development of deaconess work was the action taken by directors who arranged to have candidates continue their education and specific training in the Deaconess Hospital in Cincinnati, Ohio. The Board of Directors of Bethel College next undertook to form the Bethel Deaconess Home and Hospital Society. The state charter was granted on March 30, 1903.

Two years later the society bought what are now the hospital grounds. In 1907 the contract for the erection of a hospital was executed, and on June 11, 1908 the building was dedicated. On the same day the first three deaconesses—Sister Frieda Kaufman, Sister Catherine Voth, and Sister Ida Epp—were ordained and installed into service.

As Minister

David Goerz had ability as a minister and as such he touched many lives. His sermons are described as having been models of clear thought and logical arrangement. Congregations to be visited by Goerz waited for his coming with anticipation not only for the content of the sermon but also for its effective presentation. While his sermons were primarily expository sermons he always insisted on a practical Christianity without minimizing the deeper spiritual life. They were the product of careful preparation and much prayer. As a pastor he possessed a deeply sympathetic nature. He could enter into the discouragement, disappointment, and sorrow of people and infuse comfort to the most dejected. With the tenderness of feeling he possessed, it was not always easy to be obedient to the demands which his logical thinking made upon him. Yet when his feelings threatened to swerve him from his duty, he always refused to follow his feelings.

David Goerz had many opportunities to serve people in a spiritual ministry. The Halstead congregation called him and ordained him in 1878. In 1897 he became pastor of the Bethel College Mennonite Church. His ministry to the young people is especially remembered by those whom he served.

David Goerz was a lover of music, and especially loved the chorales in the *Gesangbuch mit Noten*. He took a prominent part in the publication of the *Kleine Liederschatz* and at least one song in the *Gesangbuch mit Noten* is published under his name. He often led both local and community choirs.

David Goerz loved books. He read extensively and being blessed with a retentive memory could use much of what he read. He was well read both in the field of literature and in theology, although biography and the sciences came in for their share of time. He had an extensive library and contributed much to the founding of the Bethel College library.

David Goerz loved to travel. Although his travels were mostly for business purposes he thoroughly enjoyed them. His travels and literary activity made him one

of the most widely-known and respected men in the Mennonite church. David Goerz in a sense, was a lonely man, a lone worker. His ideas, his dreams, his aspirations were so far ahead of his people that there were often only a few who understood what he was trying to do. But he had patience to wait and to work until the people too, would catch something of his vision and his dreams. The word "defeat" had no place in his vocabulary. He had clarity of thought that could bring order out of chaos. When involved questions came before the Conference, his keen analysis would point the Conference in the right direction. Much of his success may be due to the fact that he always worked with restless energy, often spending many hours of the night at work because the day had been too short.

The contributions of David Goerz were the ripened fruit of a rich life. Were we to summarize the activities of David Goerz one would need to say that he was a Mennonite pioneer, a business executive, a teacher, an editor, a surveyor, a relief worker, a minister and elder, a merchant, a family man, a community leader, but above everything else a man of God.

OFFICE OF THE

Mennonite Board of Guardians

Chr. Krehbiel, President,
David Goerz, Secretary,
John F. Funk, Treasurer,
B. Warkentin, Business Agt.

Summerfield, Ill., Mon 19 187-

Bethel College,

David Goerz, Secretary.

Newton, Kans., cmd 7. Feb.

Rev. Chr. Krehbiel, Pres.,
Halstead, Kans.
Rev. David Goerz, Sec't.,
Newton, Kans.
Harrison Landis, Treas.,
1710 Randolph St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

EMERGENCY
..RELIEF COMMISSION..
Of the General Conference of the Mennonites of North America.

G. Wiebe, Beatrice, Nebras
Rev. H. H. Regier, Mountain Lake, Mi
P. P. Steiner, Pandora, Putnam Co

This commission solicits contributions for special and general emergency relief funds for the purpose of giving aid at home and abroad where and distress exists and reports to the General Conference of the Mennonites of North America. Any further information will cheerfully be given by any member of the commission.

BETHESDA HOSPITAL
GOESSEL KANSAS

Rev. Peter Balzer, Vorsitzer, Goessel, Kansas.
Rev. Abr. Ratzlaff, Mountainlake, "
Rev. D. P. Schröder, "
Rev. Jacob W. Penner, Hillsboro, "

Br. Peter P. Voth, Schatzmeister, Goessel, Kansas.
Rev. David Görz, Newton, "
Rev. Abr. Schellenberg, Buhler, "
Rev. P. A. Wiebe, Lehigh, "

Rev. Heinrich Banman, Schreiber, Canton, Kansas.

Four letterheads of Mennonite Institutions in which David Goerz' name appears in a responsible position.

Now a ladies' dormitory, David Goerz built this residence on the Bethel College campus in 1893.

Gustav Harder

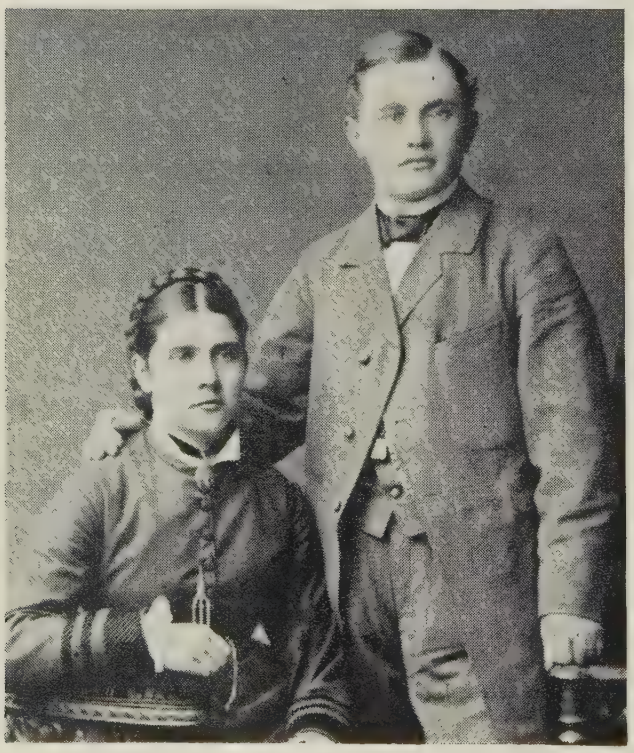
BY EDITH CLAASSEN GRABER

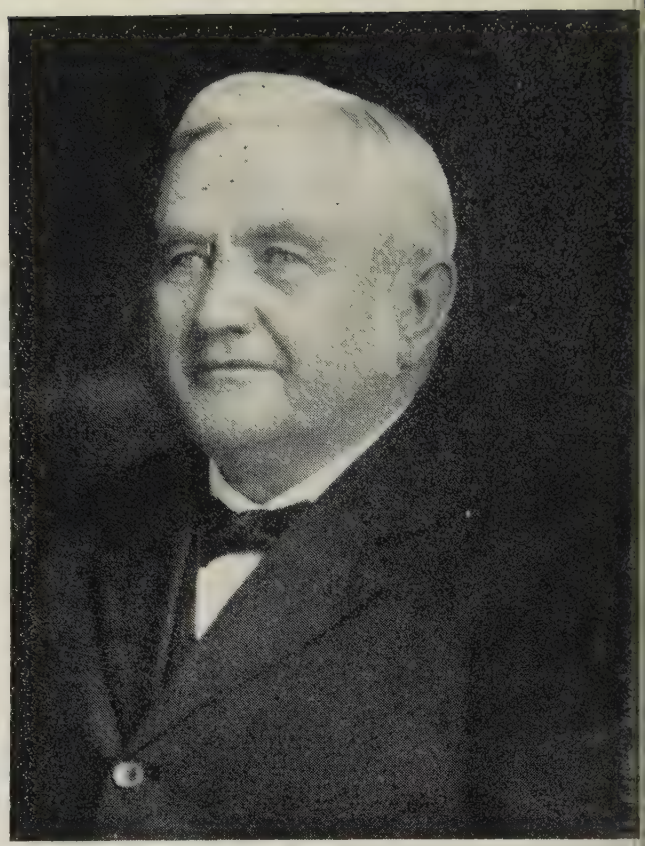
GUSTAV Harder for many years revered elder of the Emmaus Mennonite Church, Whitewater, Kansas, and for thirty years treasurer of the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Conference Mennonite Church, was a youth of eighteen when, with other Mennonites of West Prussia, he came to the New World. In the Old World he might soon have faced the issue of military service. Having a sensitive conscience on this matter, the father, Bernhard Harder, with his two sons, Johann and Gustav, and their step mother, Justine (Bergman) left the ancestral home in Prussia to found a new home across the ocean.

Pioneering in Kansas

Gustav, born March 19, 1856, had been but a lad of five when his mother died. Later his father married again and the boys, Gustav and Johann enjoyed a home where love and Christian concern surrounded them. At the age of sixteen Gustav was baptized and received into the Heubuden Mennonite Church by Elder Gerhard Penner.

Gustav and Helena Kroeker Harder in 1880 in Prussia.





Gustav Harder, Aeltester und Förderer der Mission unter den Mennoniten Amerikas.

With the prospect of conscription and some form of military training in Prussia, some Mennonites thought of migration. They listened with interest to the report of Elder Wilhelm Ewert who in 1873 had accompanied a delegation to America. In the spring of 1874 the Bernhard Harder family together with others of the Heubuden Church, sold their estates and came to America.

After visiting relatives at Halstead, Kansas, the Harders set out to buy land. They wished to buy a large block of land because there were seven families who wanted to form a community and because friends in Germany had requested them to buy land in an area which would permit further expansion, so that they too could come to America.

They had considered Kansas and Nebraska. C. B. Schmidt, representative of the Santa Fe Railroad, was eager to show them the land of his company. When they found no suitable piece of land near the railroad, Schmidt suggested that if they buy land about 15 or 20 miles away, it might be possible to have a railroad built near the land. The seven families decided to do this, buying land in northwestern Butler County—6 sections at $6 an acre. One and one-half of these sections belonged to the Harder family.

Stopping in Newton to buy horses, harness, wagons and mowing machines, they set out on Monday for their

G. C. Mennonite Foreign Mission Board, 1912, at Harder Home. (left to right) Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Regier, H. D. Penner, J. W. Kliewer, S. M. Musselman. Second car, next to driver, P. H. Richert, A. S. Shelly, Gustav and Mrs. Harder.

land. When they reached it, rather late in the day, they could see only sky and prairie grass. They cut the grass and stacked it man high, set up boards against it in tent fashion and slept under the boards or on top of the hay. Harders had not yet bought a cow so their food for the first week was coffee with bread and syrup.

A carpenter had accompanied the settlers from Halstead. He erected the first building in the settlement, a granary, on Harder's land. Elder W. Ewert came from Hillsboro to conduct the first worship service in this granary. This building also served as Harder's first home.

The family lived through many inconveniences of pioneer life before they became established. All lumber had to be hauled 15 miles from Peabody on wagons. The streams had to be forded because there were no bridges.

Establishing a Home

In 1879 Gustav Harder took a journey back to the fatherland arriving there just in time for Christmas. During this visit he became well acquainted with Helene

Directors of Bethel Deaconness Home and Hospital Society, March, 1911. (Seated, left to right) Herman Suderman, J. W. Regier, H. E. Suderman, Gustav Harder, Abraham Ratzlaff, and J. W. Penner. (Standing) C. F. Claassen, R. A. Goerz, and Jacob Isaac.

Kröker whom he had known before. They were married on May 25, 1880. When they started to America in August, they took with them a large Flügel grand piano, which had been a gift to Helene on her sixteenth birthday. They also took some beautiful porcelain China.

When the couple arrived at Peabody they were received by a group of relatives and friends. At first they lived with their parents but after a busy summer's work, they moved into their newly built home just at Christmas time in 1881.

"Through happiness and sorrow . . . these dear folk carried life's load together in love. They experienced that shared sorrow is diminished sorrow and shared joy is creased joy." They were well suited to each other, each holding a great love and affection for the other. Both were very hospitable and friendly and had a great love for missions. To this union were born two children, Helen and Bernhard.

The birthdays of Gustav Harder were festive occasions. Relatives and friends were invited to come and thank the Lord for His blessings. The guests came early in the day. At four o'clock a *Vesper* of coffee, *Blechkuchen* and *Schnittchen* was served. Supper consisted of meat, beans and fruit. Later in the evening a worship service was held with Elder Leonhard Sudermann often presiding.

Serving the Emmaus Church

Gustav Harder did little actual farming, especially in later years. His time was occupied with desk work and pastoral work. Hired hands took care of the farm. He followed in his father's footsteps and became *Vorsänger* of the newly founded Emmaus Mennonite congregation. The *Gesangbuch ohne Noten* was used. It was the *Vorsänger*'s duty to know the melody for each song and begin the song on the proper note, for there was no musical accompaniment. Gustav Harder had an excep tionally clear voice for this work.

Foreign Mission Board, Beatrice, Nebraska, 1908. (Left to right, seated) S. F. Sprunger, A. B. Shelly, and Gustav Harder. (Standing) J. W. Kliewer, C. H. A. van der Smissen, and C. H. Wedel.

As early as 1884, he was elected as minister of the Emmaus church. In 1902 he was advanced to the eldership. In his obituary we read: "For a long period of years he served the Emmaus church in preaching the word and administering the sacraments. Many of the members of the church received instruction and baptism from him on happy occasions when young people entered into the state of matrimony he officiated, and when dear ones shed tears at the graves of departed ones, he brought to them the words of consolation." He was often deeply touched with the truths of the Bible. It is said that he seldom preached a sermon without being moved to tears.

Harder wrote out all his sermons. In his later years he read these in church in a clear, slow deliberate manner. In his early years, however, he memorized them, rehearsing in an empty schoolhouse near the Harder home. When finished with a sermon, he carefully filed it away and occasionally used it again later. Approximately 500 sermons have been preserved and are located in the Mennonite Historical Library at North Newton, Kansas. These are sermons for birthdays, funerals, weddings, ordination, communion services, Advent, Lent, etc.

Pioneer in Missions and Education

Though Elder Harder was vitally interested in the growth of the church at home, he did not confine himself to this work. Everything that pertained to the upbuilding of God's kingdom in the Conference incurred his lively interest. He was elected to the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Conference Mennonite Church in 1890 and three years later elected to be treasurer of this Board. This office he held until his death, a period of 30 years.

His interest in the cause of missions was one of the passions of his life. This was evident in his sermons, his conversation, and his handling of Mission Board work. He was always delighted to tell about the wonderful work of God that our missionaries were doing. In this connection he also did a great deal of traveling—visiting churches and attending Mission Board meetings. Among the missionaries at whose ordination services he preached are: Mrs. J. B. Ediger, C. H. Suckau, Elizabeth Goerz, P. W. and Mathilde Penner, Anna Braun, J. B. Epp, G. A. Linscheid, G. A. Kliewer, Peter and Jenny Baehr and Albert Claassen and at the wedding of Rodolphe and Bertha Petter.

While in this work he edited and arranged a pamphlet *A Review of the Rise and Progress of the Mission Activities of the General Conference of Mennonites of North America* (1915). Perhaps the purpose of this work can be recognized in the sentence, "It is extremely profitable to trace the footprints of our God and Savior in the genesis and development of any work in His kingdom from its earliest beginnings to the present time comparing them with now.

Gustav and Helena Harder at Silver wedding anniversary.

The Mission Board greatly appreciated the work of Harder. After his death, a friend wrote this tribute! "Not only in the Mission Board, where one found in him a veteran and experienced senior, but also in the whole mission field, his death will cause a painful gap. The Lord gave the mission cause much when He gave it Brother Harder."

His loving devotion to God's work was found in other fields also. When Bethel College was established Gustav Harder assumed an active part and for a number of years served that institution as a member of its Board of Directors. He was also a member of the Board of Directors on the Bethel Deaconess Hospital.

Eventide

On May 25, 1905, the Harders celebrated their silver wedding anniversary to which the entire Emmaus church as well as the Foreign Mission Board were invited. An implement shed was cleared up for the day and the entire celebration took place on the farm. Four hundred people gathered, many coming from miles away. Together they thanked God for His graciousness to these, His children.

On September 30, 1919, his beloved wife passed away, leaving him alone for the end of life's journey. He found comfort in the words always before him on his desk and later in the hospital—"The Lord thy God in the midst of thee is mighty to save." A few years later Harder became sick and after an illness of several weeks in Bethel Hospital, he died on June 16, 1923. He was laid to rest in the small Harder cemetery just across the road from his home.

Thus closed the earthly life of a sincere and devout servant of God. A beautiful tribute was paid him in this sentence—"Brother Harder was one of the Grand Old Men of the Conference, beloved by all."

GOING TO MARKET, PHILADELPHIA

(Continued from page 167)

took baths in a real bath tub, and finally fell asleep hours after their tired horses had called it a day.

"Huckstering" Today

Since then, the caravan of market wagons struggling through the mud have been replaced by a steady procession of walk-in trucks, and going to market today is only a matter of an hour's ride to the city.

Perhaps some of the enchantment of the old days is gone, but the Bucks County Mennonite who tends stall in the market or delivers his products directly to his customer's door, will tell you that he wouldn't trade his job for a daily eight-to-five office or mill job. In the produce business, he is his own employer, he has a chance to work outdoors part of the time and he is exposed to wider horizons than he would have been had he remained on the farm. Yet he has not lost complete contact with the soil—he is the link between the country and the city, enjoying his access to the two modes of living.

A Pioneer Family

History of One Branch of The Krehbiel Family, by W. J. Krehbiel. Published by the author, McPherson, Kansas, 1950. 100 pp., paper bound, $2.00.

Jost Krehbiel was born before 1670, migrated from Switzerland to Germany, and in 1709 bought the Primmerhof in the Palatinate. A fifth generation descendant of Jost was John Carl Krehbiel, who came to America in 1833 and six years later brought his family to the frontier in Lee County, Iowa. There he became a Mennonite minister and served the church faithfully for many years. Among his children was John Jacob who moved to Harvey County, Kansas, in 1879. John Jacob's son William John is the author of this book.

Included in the book is a description of the source materials, including seventy-four old letters, used for this history, a seven page account of the Krehbiel family and an eleven page article on Mennonite life in the Palatinate by John Carl Krehbiel, a twenty-page biography of John Carl Krehbiel, and a twenty-eight page biography of of John Carl's son J. J. and his family. A listing of ten generations of the Krehbiel family and short accounts of related families of the Leisy and Ruth lineage contribute additional genealogical information.

To the church historian very likely the most valuable sections of the book are the chapters dealing with life in the Palatinate and the biography of John Carl Krehbiel, perhaps the first Mennonite minister to be ordained west of the Mississippi. Readers who enjoy accounts of pioneer life will appreciate the well told stories of this volume.

—Melvin Gingerich

Comrade Hildebrandt

BY HENRY JANZEN

IT WAS in the gloomy year of 1921, when I was a student at the Business School in Gnadenfeld, Russia. Gloomy in more ways than one: Red tribunals roamed the Mennonite colonies, trying farmers who could not pay their taxes and condemning them to six and seven years imprisonment with the loss of all rights. Famine was staring at us with its hollow eyes and swollen face. To add to all this, the Extraordinary Commission *(Tshrezvetshaika)* harassed the people.

Sometimes I wonder how we managed to muster enough courage to do any studying. At that age all the horrible things impress themselves deeply upon the pliable mind. In time the impressions harden and remain just like the footprints of prehistoric monsters remain until today on the rocks of a certain geological epoch. Perhaps that is why those memories are still with us and to this day I have occasional nightmares which take me back to those days and fears we lived through long ago.

It was a dark November day when the Extraordinary Commission came to Gnadenfeld. Orders were given to bring all firearms and ammunition and dump them into an abandoned cellar at the rear of the local store. Playing the part of "generous friends of the people," the Commission permitted this to be done during the night, so that anyone afraid of the consequences could get rid of his unlawful possessions without being recognized. Whether there were any firearms in Gnadenfeld or not, I did not know, but I knew as well as anyone else, that if they would be brought to the old cellar it would certainly mean "curtains" for the bearer. The Commission had sentries posted in a dark bush right across the road. It was not the outcome of this mission that impressed itself so much on my mind as a certain person: Comrade Hildebrandt, who was a member of the Commission.

A native of Gnadenfeld, Comrade Hildebrandt was brought up as a Mennonite. Whatever so influenced him I do not know but he turned his back on the faith of his fathers. A good looking youth of about twenty-five, he wore a sailor's uniform. A large pistol hung at his left, and two hand grenades were fastened to his beltstraps. A large sword and an army rifle slung over his shoulder completed the outfit and made him look like a walking arsenal. His eyes looked wild and were hard and cruel. He obviously took great pleasure in frightening the farmers of Gnadenfeld. Some of them, no doubt, had caught him stealing apples in their gardens when he was a youth of about fifteen. Some of them had, perhaps, even tanned his hide, years ago, for some mischievous offense so typical of boys that age.

Now it was his turn. He was pointed out to me by my cousin, while he was talking to an old man. The old farmer was as white as a ghost and shaking like a leaf while Comrade Hildebrandt talked to him, playfully handling his revolver.

I did not see him enact any atrocities and it is not my purpose to give an actual account of all the brutalities committed by Comrade Hildebrandt. I know, however, that he executed his own stepbrother who was married only three weeks previous to his untimely death.

After the above-mentioned incident in Gnadenfeld I did not see Comrade Hildebrandt for several years, although his ill fame resounded among the Mennonites. Then suddenly, about 1925 he turned up as president of our regional trade union. I was at the time secretary of our local group. It was the time of the New Economic Policy and things began to hum with activity. I myself was employed as a chauffeur by a rich Dutchman, R. K. I. Willink, who had a concession with the Russian government covering about six thousand acres of land.

In those days a car was a rarity in Russia and a chauffeur's job was an enviable position. To drive to any institution in a car was something to be proud of and the officials of our trade union were only too glad to occupy a vacant seat in a car.

So it came to pass that on my frequent trips Comrade Hildebrandt rode with me many a mile. Many an hour Comrade Hildebrandt and I sat in the car alone, waiting for my boss who was always conducting some kind of business with the different branches of the agricultural administration.

It struck me then, what a change had come over Comrade Hildebrandt; his walk was slower than it had been when I first saw him. His cruel and wild eyes had mellowed and seemed to look far into the distance when he was talking to you. Somehow Comrade Hildebrandt took a fancy to me, and told me many things. Strange as it may seem, I began to take a liking toward the man. He seemed to sense this, and never missed a chance to say "hello" to me, whenever he saw me sitting in my car waiting for the boss.

During this time, I began to figure things out and in time got a picture something like this: Comrade Hildebrandt had given birth to a mad hatred of humanity. This hatred, in turn, had developed in him an irresistible urge to kill and to destroy. Probably with the same fervor with which I liked to work on machinery, he liked to hurt humanity and especially his own people. One

thing, however, he had miscalculated and that was the fact that there was still a small voice which told him of his terrible transgressions. Or why was there that far-away look in his eyes?

The answer to that question came soon after I had tried in vain to characterize the personality of Comrade Hildebrandt. It was a warm summer's day. We sat in the car and talked of this and that. In the course of the conversation he mentioned that he would probably leave us very soon. To my completely casual question as to the reason why we were heading for this "great loss," his look grew even more distant than I had ever seen it before. Then it came out: the doctors had discovered tuberculosis in his lungs and were recommending him to a sanatorium in the northern parts of Russia. The pine woods surrounding this sanatorium were considered to be very healthful and healing to this particular ailment.

Before I knew it I had said some consoling words and expressed my sympathy. Here was a man who had killed and even tortured scores of people to death. Now, that his own miserable life was at stake, he felt sorry for himself and was afraid to go through the dark gate through which he, himself, had dispatched so many. Not only that, but I, who knew all this, offered my sympathy and felt quite serious about it.

I did not see Comrade Hildebrandt for quite a while after this. One day, as I sat in my parked car in front of the regional agricultural government building, idly musing to myself, I saw a man cross the street. His eyes were fixed on me and he was walking rather slowly towards my car. I recognized him: it was Comrade Hildebrandt. But what a change! His cheeks were hollow, and the faraway look in his eyes had changed to a frightened stare. He came up to me and leaned his elbows on the car door. He coughed in short, dry bursts and a faint smile played over his haggard face. I could not help but feel sorry for him. I shall never forget the conversation that followed:

"Hello, Heinz."

"Hello, Comrade Hildebrandt, how are you?"

"Not so good. It's getting worse."

"But I thought you were up north, in the pine woods, getting better."

"I was. But it's no use. Nothing can help me."

"But why not? I would think that daily walks through that pine-fresh air are supposed to perform miracles."

His eyes widened, his breath came in short bursts, his whole body began to shake. He looked at me with the stare of a hunted, mortally wounded animal and slowly came the words from his lips:

"I had to come back. . . . I have to be among people . . . yes, lazy walks in the pine woods . . . just as soon as I enter them I see decapitated bodies and human heads . . . and blood! Blood all over. You hear me! All over, even the sky turns to blood . . .!"

His last words had turned into a shout. An old Russian woman lugging her market basket heard it, made the sign of the cross and hurried on. Comrade Hildebrandt turned and slowly walked away. My eyes followed him until I saw him turn a street corner. I never saw him again, nor did I hear of him since. How long did he live, how did he die? Only this much I know: if ever anyone has paid for his crimes, Comrade Hildebrandt did so with interest. What should I do? Sit back and console myself with the thought that he was getting what was coming to him? Or should I live on and pretend I had never seen or heard of him?

He had, at times, expressed the thought that I was his friend. He had told me things that I am sure he had told no one else. I sat there in silence trying to find an answer to all this. I could not rid myself of one thought: "There, but for the grace of God, go I. God be merciful to him, a sinner!"

It Happened in Montana

BY RUFUS M. FRANZ

DURING the first World War there were also conscientious objectors. My father was one of these. We lived at that time in Dawson County, Montana, in the community commonly referred to as the Bloomfield settlement, about forty miles from the county seat, Glendive, and some thirteen miles from Richey.

In the Bloomfield settlement there is a church called the Bethlehem Mennonite Church. Near it is an Old Mennonite settlement called the Red Top settlement which met in a local schoolhouse by the same name.

These two communities were very prosperous with wheat-growing and cattle-raising as the two chief occupations. The farmers had large homes and barns and generally well-equipped farms. The people were contented and their church was the center of their community activities.

When the first World War came and during the war period my father would frequently intercede for the men of our community at the local draft headquarters in Glendive and also with the state board in Helena, the state capital. Furloughs and deferments were often arranged because the drafted men were extensive farmers

with families, and being Mennonites, were conscientiously opposed to participating in war. He made a trip to Helena and represented our men whenever the local board would not defer them.

One Day . . .

One day in early spring my father, John M. Franz, my mother, my younger brother and I drove to a nearby schoolhouse about a mile from our home for a special school meeting. Matters of school business were to be taken up. When we arrived at the school meeting, we noticed a number of strangers, two carloads of them. Most of us came by horse and buggy to the meeting. The school district was quite largely made up of Mennonite families with the exception of one or two non-Mennonites in the district. We arrived somewhat late and entered the school building shortly before the meeting was called to order. Father had gone to get his mail from our mailbox which was just across the road from the school premises. Among other items which he had in the mail was his hometown paper, *The Mountain Lake Observer*. At that time this paper had several pages of German news, news of local affairs at Mountain Lake and vicinity. He took it along with him into the school building. As soon as he was seated in the building, together with Mother and us boys, the meeting was called to order.

Hardly had this happened, when a man came to him and asked him to come outside. He went, taking his mail along with him. As soon as he was outside several other men accosted him and told him to come along with them. They took him by force to one of the cars which was parked on the school premises ready to leave seemingly at a moment's notice. My father began to reason with them trying to find why they were taking him. They gave no reason except that he had in his possession a German paper. They said: "You are the man that is making all this trouble." They threatened "to fix him" giving as their reason that he was the leader of the Germans in this settlement, meaning the Mennonites. He didn't struggle with them but got into the car and as he did so he requested of them that he be permitted to see my mother. This, they said, was not necessary.

. . . there was a tree . . .

By this time my mother, as well as others from the school building, noticed that something unusual was going on. She went out of the building to the car. When she came to the car she inquired what was going on and they informed her that it was none of her business and that they were taking Father for a ride. She insisted that she go along and climbed on the running board of the car. One man took her forcibly from the car and threw her to the ground so brutally that she lay there for a time. My mother was pregnant at the time, it being only two months till the birth of my younger brother, Arthur. The men quickly drove away with my father and took him to an isolated spot about thirty miles away in the Bad Lands of Montana where there was a large tree.

My father noticed as he boarded the car, and so did my mother before she was thrown off, that there were guns, shovels and rope in the car. They both wondered what it meant. When the men arrived at their destination they took my father out of the car and prepared to hang him from the tree. They told him that now they would soon show him where he belonged. As they approached the large tree, my father told me he prayed this prayer: "Lord I belong to thee. Whatever you allow these men to do is all right with me." They had the noose ready and were attempting to place it over his head when he got hold of the rope and held it. He doesn't know why, but for some reason he had a great measure of strength so that they were not able seemingly to release it from his hands. As he held the rope he began to reason with them as to why they were doing this. He told them that he was an American citizen, that his father was such, and that he feared greatly for them, what the implications of their contemplated act might be. He said he trusted they were fully aware of what they were doing. They began to argue among themselves as to what should be done. There were twelve men. Among these men was the county sheriff, two attorneys, a banker, and several business- and cattlemen.

I voted for you . . .

My father said, "You Mr. X, are the sheriff of this county. I voted for you because I believed in you and trusted you. You were to give me protection if and when I should need it. Now you are not giving me that protection."

"Mr. Y," addressing the attorney, "you are the attorney representing the law and representing us before the law. I, too, gave assent to your position and now you, too, are opposing me by this method. I am wondering why you are doing this. Could you not give me a hearing in this matter?"

So he pleaded with them asking for a hearing so he could disprove any false charge.

The sheriff then began to weaken on this matter and fearing what might happen, used what little influence he had on the group to have my father taken to Glendive, the county seat. We later discovered that the men agreed among themselves to hang father from a bridge over the Yellowstone River, probably with a greater number of people or a mob so they could do away with him later that evening.

For the time being they took father to Glendive and locked him up in the county jail. In the meantime, Mother, after she had gained composure, my little brother and I, went into a side room of the school, not knowing what to do. We knelt for a few moments in prayer and then decided we must go home to formulate some plans. The members of the church board assembled within a short time at the home of one of our neighbors. Members of the church board were Ben Janzen, Peter Janzen, Jonathan Graber, P. K. Tiessen, and George L.

Deckert. They decided that all of us should go in Pete Janzen's car to Glendive.

The news of this event at the school spread like wildfire throughout the community and spontaneously the members of our church gathered at the church building to hold a prayer meeting. These five men, my mother, my brother and I arrived at Glendive in the evening about four o'clock. When we arrived there we went to the county jail where the sheriff's office was located to inquire and to report regarding our experience. Upon our arrival we knocked at the door but seemed to get no response. After repeated rapping a man opened the door and in an abrupt way asked, "What do you want, lady?" Mother said she would like to see the sheriff. He said, "I'm sorry but the sheriff isn't in." My mother said, "Where is he and when can I see him?" He said he didn't know but possibly the sheriff was out of town. "Well, we'll have to do something else then," Mother said, whereupon a side door opened and the sheriff came out, having recognized my mother.

She asked, "What have you done with Mr. Franz?" He said, "I don't know the man." She then replied, "That could hardly be the case. You were there at Independence Schoolhouse this afternoon." He said, "Yes, I remember," and mother asked again where father was. He told her that if she came back in half an hour she could see him. Thereupon my mother nearly fainted. Then he said, "You may talk to him." My mother had thought that something had happened and that she would perhaps not get to see him alive. So we left the jail and stayed around the building during the half hour interval.

After thirty minutes we again went to the jail and again had the same difficulty when we knocked at the door. Finally the jailer opened the door and said in a very brusk way, "Well, what do you want? Can't you go away from here?" My mother replied she wished to see the sheriff again since he had told her to come back. The jailer proceeded to close the door but mother shoved my younger brother and me through the door and then she also came into the building. The sheriff opened one of the side doors again and told her that she should come into his office. After she was in the office he closed the door, locked it and walked away.

We offered a prayer . . .

After a few minutes we could hear our father coming down the corridor. He was brought into the room. I will never forget how my father looked at that moment. It seemed as though he had aged tremendously. We talked for a few minutes together as a family, even offered a prayer not knowing what it all meant or what it was all about. The sheriff had called in an attorney and presented all the charges held against my father. He explained all of them but none of the charges were well founded. Finally, the sheriff said it was time for my father to leave but father insisted that the family be left together, telling him that mother was in a serious condition and that they needed to be together. The sheriff said

John M. and Mrs. Franz, West Salem, Oregon, today.

there were no accommodations for women in jail and that she would have to go since he did not feel it wise to let my father leave the jail. Thereupon we were puzzled what to do, but my father insistingly pled with the sheriff that mother at least be allowed to remain in the jail building for the night, although the sheriff suggested that he take mother to the hospital. Finally, the sheriff consented that we could all stay together and arranged a private room in jail for our stay.

The next day was Sunday and nothing was done. On Monday evening about seven o'clock a crowd began to gather in the city hall. We wondered about this. Finally, we saw father taken into the city hall building and we wondered still more. My father was then given what is commonly called a "gorilla hearing." They put him in the center of the room and the others gathered around him. About two hundred people were present who now began to "fire" questions at him. The questions were something like the following: "Are you a citizen?" whereupon my father replied, "Yes." "Isn't it true that you speak German?" My father explained that he was of German parentage, his grandfather and father having come from Russia to this country where his grandfather had taken out citizenship papers and become a citizen of this country and that accordingly his father, who had then been under twenty-one years of age, was a citizen and that he himself had been born at Mountain Lake, Minnesota, in Cottonwood County. He said if they were willing to give him time, he could prove to them that he was born in Cottonwood County and that his name was recorded at Windom, Minnesota, the county seat of Cottonwood County. The main charges centered about the idea that they thought he was "pro German."

. . . he was "pro German."

They asked him about this newspaper which they had and he told them that it was a home-town paper, and that he was willing to translate every sentence of it for them, and that it included merely local news and it had no connections whatsoever with Germany. He also told them that neither he, nor his father nor perhaps any of his relatives knew anyone in Germany. Next they asked regarding war bonds and why it was that neither he nor his people, the Mennonites, bought war bonds. He tried to explain to them as carefully as he could why Mennonites did not buy bonds. He told them that they took part in Red Cross activities and he believed that for the size of his community they had done more in Red Cross activities than any other community of its size in the state. It was later discovered that the Mennonites had done more than twice as much in Red Cross activities than any other community of similar size. Finally, after many questions of this sort they adjourned and my father was led back to the jail. We were given entrance to the jail, and my mother, my brother and I slept in the jail three nights, my father being there all day long, but my mother, brother and I being dismissed during the daytime. The final decision of this hearing entailed:

1. that all German services be prohibited,
2. that father be placed under $3,000 bond,
3. that he report to the district court four times a year. This was to continue until the close of the war and if no charges existed, the case would be dismissed.

The next morning my father was released under three-thousand dollar bond which they felt sure could not be raised. However, it took only three hours in which to raise this amount. It required only time enough to get the members of the church board together in order that they could fill out papers to transfer their property to serve as security for the bond. This wholeheartd response by the church members was quite amazing to the county authorities who could not understand how or why these people could trust their leader so implicitly. My father remarked that it was the only thing that they as members of the same church could do since their church was a brotherhood where members were motivated by Christian love. The understanding was that four times a year, as previously stated, my father was to report to the county seat to answer questions which might arise regarding him from time to time.

We returned home and carried on our usual activities. For several months we refrained from going to Glendive but finally went as we had always done. After the first meeting of the district court the three thousand dollar bond was cancelled and a letter accompanying it stated that it was unnecessary for my father to appear again at Glendive. The case was dismissed. We took no account of that action but continued to visit Glendive whenever the occasion presented itself, never fearing to go there because of public opinion or past events.

The war finally ended and conditions seemed change. A few of the neighbors who bordered these Me nonite settlements found out that misinformation regar ing the Mennonites had been given to the county off cials and the people of Glendive by several unscrupulo families in the neighborhood bordering the Mennoni community. These families were given forty-eight hou in which to leave the county because of the wrath people in the community. They left by night. The Me nonites and the people of the Bloomfield Mennoni Church had nothing whatsoever to do with this.

Vengeance is mine . . .

Prominent lawyers contacted father on several occa sions and offered to sue for damages on a fifty-fif basis. My father refused them, quoting the Scriptur "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." H told them that he had no intentions of ever doing any thing about it and that the case had been left entirel in the hands of God. This was very difficult for thes distinguished lawyers to understand for they felt that was necessary for justice to be done; that the case h prosecuted by all means. However, they could do noth ing without my father's consent and this he refused give. They repeatedly remarked that they could not un derstand this reasoning at all.

Several years later, and I remember it very clearl because it made a very vivid impression upon me, m father and I were working out in the field. My fathe was doing a little farming in addition to his ministr which was a common practice in Mennonite commun ties. One day, while we were out in the field a car stoppe at the edge and a man came walking toward us. W were cutting grain. My father stopped his team and th man said, "Do you recognize me, Mr. Franz?" My fathe said, "Why, yes, I do. How can I forget you? You wer one of the twelve men. You are Mr. Y." He replie "Yes," and with tears in his eyes, "I have come to as you for a thing which is probably very hard for you t do but I am asking it nevertheless. I am asking that yo forgive me the great wrong that I did you and you family during the war." My father paused a momen and reaching out his hand, said, "Yes, Mr. Y. I willingl forgive you." To my surprise they shook hands an then they parted. My father assured him that it was a though the event had never happened. He would mentio it in church. This he did and there was a rejoicing fo what was felt to be a spiritual victory.

After that my father met Mr. Y a number of time at Glendive. At no time would he ever avoid my fathe Many times he offered to do legal work for him, to giv him any kind of legal advice that was necessary. I re member on several occasions that he walked across th street, when he saw my father, merely to shake hand and to show that they really were friends. The oth eleven men never did anything about it. This experienc left an impression on the Mennonites of this communit so that its effect is still felt to this day.

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE C. O.

BY MARVIN HARDER

SOMETIME before 1945 a Canadian named Girourd filed a petition for naturalization. When filling out the application form he came to the question: "If necessary, are you willing to take up arms in defense of this country?" In answer he wrote "no." At the cross examination later, when questioned about this entry, he explained that he was a Seventh Day Adventist and that his religious scruples would not permit him to serve in a combatant status. With this reservation he was willing to take the oath of allegiance required in the naturalization procedure. The district court then admitted him to citizenship; but the federal government appealed the case, and the court of appeals reversed the decision of the district court. Subsequently, the case came to the United States Supreme Court for review. In an opinion for the majority, Justice Douglas reversed the court of appeals and thereby upheld Girourd's admission to citizenship.[1]

"Uncompromising Pacifist"

Although this case did not involve a constitutional issue, the decision was nonetheless an important one for it reversed a rule that had been in effect since 1928. In that year a woman named Schwimmer, a native of Hungary, was denied the privilege of citizenship on the ground that she was "an uncompromising pacifist."[2] The question was then first raised as to whether a declaration of pacifist views disqualified the declarer from taking the oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States. The Illinois District Court took the position that one who avowed an unwillingness to bear arms in defense of the country could not take the oath "without mental reservation" and so was legally not entitled to do so under the then existing naturalization laws. Justice Butler handed down the opinion for the majority when that case reached the Supreme Court of the United States. He said that "a pacifist in the general sense of the word is one who seeks to maintain peace and to abolish war. Such purposes are in harmony with the constitution and policy of our government. But the word is also used and understood to mean one who refuses or is unwilling for any purpose to bear arms because of conscientious considerations and who is disposed to encourage others in such refusal." He went on to say that the duty of a citizen is to defend the government against all enemies and that this is a fundamental principle of our constitution. "Whatever lessens willingness of citizens to discharge duty detracts from the safety of government . . . ." Citizenship is a privilege to be given only to one who is willing to assume the obligation of defending the constitution under which such citizenship is granted.

Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Sandford dissented. Holmes wrote, "So far as the adequacy of the oath is concerned I hardly see how that is affected by the statement, in as much as she is a woman over 50 years of age, and would not be allowed to bear arms if she wanted to. . .

"Surely it cannot show lack of attachment to the constitution that she thinks it can be improved. It is no different from saying that one believes the President's term should be changed to seven years . . . Some of her answers might excite popular prejudice, but if there is any principle of the constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate. I think we should adhere to that principle with regard to admission into, as well as to life within this country." And he concluded, "I would suggest that the Quakers have done their share to make this country what it is, that many citizens agree with the applicant's belief and that I had not supposed hither-to that we regretted our inability to expel them because they believed more than some of us do in the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount."

Right or Wrong

Two years later, in United States v. Macintosh,[3] the Supreme Court again had an opportunity to pass upon the same question. Macintosh was a professor in Yale's Divinity School and a Canadian who had gone to the front during World War I as a non-combatant ambulance driver. In answer to the question on the application about his willingness to bear arms in defense of the country he wrote: "I am willing to do what I judge to be in the best interests of my country, but only in so far as I can believe that this is not going to be against the best interests of humanity in the long run. I do not undertake to support my country right or wrong in any dispute which may arise, and I am not willing to promise before hand and without knowing the cause for which my country may go to war, either that I will or will not take up arms in defense of this country, however necessary the war may seem to be to the government of the day."

Justice Sutherland for the majority of the court argued that the question of exemption from military service is one that Congress must decide, not the individual. "Our government must go forward on the assumption that unqualified allegiance to the laws of the land is not inconsistent with the will of God."

Chief Justice Hughes dissented, and his opinion laid the ground for the Girourd decision of 1945. Hughes said that the real question was whether the naturalization act required a promise, as a condition of naturalization, to bear arms. In his view it did not. To hold otherwise was

to read into the oath something which was not necessarily implied. He pointed out that the naturalization oath was substantially the same as that required of persons taking office under the Constitution and that the Constitution specifically prohibited a religious test in determining eligibility for federal office. Hughes noted that there are other ways of defending the country aside from bearing arms. Finally, he urged that the long standing practice of excusing persons from military service should be controlling in the interpretation of the law. With this dissent Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone concurred.

In the Girourd case Justice Douglas repeated many of Hughes' arguments; and, in addition, he dealt with a new issue which had been injected into the argument. The question arose as to whether it should be assumed that Congress concurred in the Schwimmer and Macintosh rulings, since it had in 1940 enacted a new naturalization law without making any provision permitting conscientious objectors who fulfill other requirements to be admitted to citizenship. Justice Stone in dissenting argued that this failure to amend the original act so as to make it possible for objectors to become naturalized meant that Congress intended the Schwimmer and Macintosh rulings to stand. Justice Douglas for the majority replied that "it is at best treacherous to find in Congressional silence alone the adoption of a controlling rule of law."[4]

Of what significance is this decision apart from the fact that it reversed three earlier rulings and cleared the way for the admission of conscientious objectors to citizenship? Admittedly these results are important in themselves, but there are other aspects of the opinion which also deserve our attention.

The C.O. after World War II

In the first place it is interesting to note that, whereas the court in 1928 regarded the nation's experience with conscientious objectors in World War I as unsatisfactory and reflecting against objectors in general, the court in 1945 had nothing but praise for the objectors of World War II. At least, some statement in each opinion could be so construed. In the Schwimmer case Justice Butler wrote, "It is obvious that acts of such offenders (referring to objectors during World War I) evidence a want of that attachment to the principles of the constitution . . ." In contrast, we have Justice Douglas' statements in the Girourd case of 1945: "Annals show that many who would not bear arms nevertheless were unselfish participants in the war effort . . . Devotion to one's country may be as real among non-combatants as among combatants . . . The effort of war is indivisible and those whose religious scruples prevent them from killing are no less patriots than those whose special traits or handicaps result in their assignment to duties far behind the fighting front."

When many Mennonites, Quakers and others who held pacifist convictions would be reluctant to accept the court's praise for their contribution "to the war effort," they can yet justifiably appreciate the court's recognition that they served their country while serving their principles.

This last observation suggests another which may be appropriate, although many will regard it as obvious, namely, that good citizenship is and must be judged by many standards. In a purely passive sense, a good citizen is one who abides by all the laws he can obey without violating his moral principle. In an active sense, he is one who keeps informed about the problems which the community, small or large, is continually facing and who joins with his neighbors in discussing and acting upon them. These problems may have to do with the local school or the outmoded water works system, or they may be of larger magnitude—the rehabilitation of underdeveloped areas of the world or a nation-wide campaign to bring under control the scourges of heart disease and cancer.

That the participant may be motivated by his own personal interest is not the concern of society. Society only knows that he *does* participate and that such activity is conducive to the welfare of many men. With motives Justice Douglas was not concerned; with the outward, visible conduct he was.

Finally, one may say that, in overturning the Schwimmer and Macintosh ruling, the court in the Girourd case expressed sympathy for those whose conscientious principles prevent them from obeying a law to bear arms. It did so by resolving an ambiguity in the naturalization acts in their favor. It justified this interpretation on the grounds of a long-standing American tradition of tolerance of religiously motivated dissenters. In the Schwimmer and Macintosh decisions the ambiguity was resolved against the objector, and this holding was supported by an appeal to the principle that the expressed wishes of the organ of the state must be regarded in law as superior to any claims of the individual to the contrary. Let us briefly consider each position.

There is little doubt that most Americans subscribe to the principle that, in the event of a conflict between civil and moral law, the latter ought to determine one's conduct. Such a view is embodied in the Declaration of Independence. But, more realistic evidence could be obtained if one set out to find any person who would agree in advance to do any conceivable thing which the government might require of him. And, in this connection we might observe that we recently tried National Socialist leaders for their crimes against humanity, that is, for their crimes against a higher law.

At the same time this traditional view cannot be cited to support the principle that one has a *right* to disobedience. The Schwimmer and Macintosh majorities were correct in holding that there is no universally valid, legal principle that will justify disobedience.[5] A decision to disobey must rest upon the individual conscience, and the individual who chooses to resist must expect to take the legal consequences of such action.

Thus neither the Girourd or Schwimmer-Macintosh

positions is easily asailable. The former is in accord with our sympathies and with our traditions; the latter upholds a logical principle that in itself cannot be contested.

If this analysis is accepted, it follows that the pacifist in America must look to Congress for his protection, not to the courts. The judiciary can only aid when there is a question of freedom of speech, press, assembly or judicial process; in short, when it comes within the safeguards of the Bill of Rights. The problem is that of achieving or protecting legislation that makes it possible for the conscientious objector to live a secure and useful life in our society.

FOOTNOTES

1 Girourd v. United States, 328 US 61, 1945.
2 United States v. Schwimmer, 279 US 644, 1928.
3 283 US 605, 1930.
4 The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled in at least three other "objector" cases: In re Summers (325 US 561, 1944); United States v. Bland (283 US 636, 1930); and Hamilton v. Board of Regents (293 US 245, 1934). In re Summers upheld an Illinois state court's decision refusing admission of a pacifist to the bar. The decision rested on legal grounds with which we are not concerned here; although Justice Black in dissenting discussed wider issues similar to those in the Hughes, Holmes and Douglas opinions. The Bland case was decided at the same time as the Macintosh case and simply reaffirmed the Macintosh decision. The Hamilton case concerned the claim of a conscientious objector to exemption from the requirement that freshmen and sophomores at the University of California participate in ROTC. The issue there is not germane to this discussion.
5 For a penetrating analysis of this question see Franz Neumann, 'On the Limits of Justifiable Disobedience," in Conflict of Loyalties (R. M. MacIver, Editor, Harper and Bros., 1952).

PLOCKHOY AND SLAVERY IN AMERICA

BY LELAND HARDER

IN *The Awakening of America,* V. F. Calverton included a sketch of Plockhoy's settlement at the mouth of the Delaware in 1663 and concluded: "Dead though the colony became and forgotten for the most part though it is, we must still turn to it for the first public protest against slavery in America. The Plockhoy Mennonites were absolute and uncompromising in their condemnation of slavery as an institution."

Although Plockhoy was less absolute than Calverton in the foregoing statement, other writers were as vehement. Samuel W. Pennypacker wrote in his *History of Germantown* that "When we find him (Plockhoy), first of all the colonizers of America, so long ago as 1662, announcing the broad principle that 'no lordship or servile slavery shall burden our company,' he seems to grow into heroic proportions." Assurance of Plockhoy's priority in protesting slavery prompted William Elliot Griffis, Dutch-American historian of the last generation, to take a bronze tablet honoring Plockhoy to the Netherlands, where it was unveiled and dedicated. It was presented in the name of the Netherlands Society of Philadelphia. In an address entitled "American Gratitude in Bronze," at the Waldorf-Astoria banquet of the Holland Society of New York, Griffis told Theodore Roosevelt and other members of the Society why he thought Plockhoy deserved American gratitude. "Furthermore," he concluded, "Plockhoy's was the first voice raised in America against slavery. Surely we ought to remember his name, and so in this town of Zierikzee where he was born, we put up this tablet."

Quakers and Slavery in America

Thomas Drake in *Quakers and Slavery in America* takes his story back to Plockhoy's time, mentioning Roger Williams, Morgan Godwin, Richard Baxter, John

Title page of a book by Pieter Cornelisz Plockhoy.

A WAY
PROPOVNDED
TO
Make the poor in theſe and other Nations happy,
By bringing together a fit, ſutable, and well-qualified People into one Houſhold-government, or little Common-wealth,
Wherein every one may keep his propriety, and be imployed in ſome work or other, as he ſhall be fit, without being oppreſſed.
Being the way not only to rid theſe and other Nations from idle, evil, and diſorderly perſons, but alſo from all ſuch as have ſought and found out many Inventions, to live upon the labour of others.
Whereunto is alſo annexed an Invitation to this Society, or Little Common-wealth.

Pſalm 42.1. *Bleſſed is he that conſidereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble; the Lord ſhall preſerve him, and keep him alive, and he ſhall be bleſſed upon the earth.*

By PETER CORNELIS-SON, *VAN ZURIK-ZEE.*

LONDON,
Printed for the Author, & are ſold at the Black Spread-Eagle neer the Weſt-end of *Pauls, 1659.*

Eliot, Cotton Mather, and Samuel Sewall, but with the notion that "The only significant movement against slavery in colonial America took place among the Quakers."—a more cautious way of claiming "First." His ommission of Plockhoy is really much less serious than his misinterpretation of the remarkable public protest against slavery published by the Mennonite congregation at Germantown in 1688, when the English Quakers still held slaves. It was in fact, to a Quaker monthly meeting that this memorial was sent, but where it had no immediate effect. Perhaps Drake's conscience hurt a little when he added by way of the "trusty" footnote: "Mennonites, Moravians, and other small European groups akin to the Quakers refrained from slaveholding in America from the beginning, but they came over later than the Friends and had no appreciable influence on public policy."

Plockhoy protested against slavery of all forms—political, economic, white, Negro, religious, intellectual. His protest didn't become localized until a historical situation affecting him violated his views concerning equality and fraternity, and the universality of all men under God. Such situations were the dominance of state churches of the religious activities of the citizens, or the oppression of the rich over the poor.

Plockhoy wished to abolish two offences against men in the society in which he lived: intolerance in religion and social injustice. The bases of his reform activity in both instances was alike—the practice of Christian love. Since men are the creations of a single God they should behave as brothers toward each other. His concept of the universality of all men is central in the reform of social as well as religious ills, although he gives up the notion of bringing at once all men together in communion. His thought evolves to the place where "If we be insufferable to the World and they be incorrigible or unbetterable as to us, then let us reduce our friendship and society to a few in number and maintain it in such places as are separate from other men, where we may with less impediment or hindrance love one another and mind the Wonders of God, eating the bread we shall earn with our own hands, leaving nothing to the body but what its nakedness, hunger, thirst, and weariness calls for."

Plockhoy and "Association"

Two fundamental ideas in his scheme to set up little Christian commonwealths in England and later in colonial America were equality and association. These are not mutually exclusive ideas but they might be considered separately. Association, in Plockhoy's mind, is a divine state to be patterned after the Apostolic mode of living. Man is essentially a social being, desiring communion with others; but he reaches the most perfect and blessed state when God brings him into fellowship with others and when this union becomes more important to him than all the riches in the world. But the more divine this state of friendship, the less is it seen on earth. God is the only bond by which men are tied together without being unloosed and upon which they resolve to withstand all assaults whatsoever. Nothing comes nearer the divine nature than love, which among true friends creates such an agreement that no secret, no joy, no profit, nor any cross or affliction is undivided, but whatsoever betides either of them is not otherwise than if it were the change of one alone, so that death itself can scarce separate souls so totally united. After the manner of Jesus' living and teaching, all Christendom ought to be merely a great fraternity, comprising such as have denied the world and their own lusts, who conspire together in Christ, the sole head and spring of love, doing well to one another, and distribute their goods to those who stand in need. "Oh! that we had this perfection and were answerable to the end of our creation! certainly there would not be such going to law, such intrenching and encroaching upon the bounds of lands, such hiding and close locking up of money, nor would there be such scraping together of superfluous estates."

Plockhoy and Equality

Plockhoy's notion of equality was expressed as a protest against artificial mechanisms of status in society such as titles of honor or slave-holding. "The world hath her delight in different degrees of dignities, states, titles and offices, exalting themselves one above another; but Christ on the contrary will that every one shall perform his office as a member of one and the same body, in which no one exalteth himself or accounteth himself worthier than another." In contradiction to the command of Christ who said that if any among men would be greatest let him be slave of all, in the world they were considered greatest who had the most slaves.

Plockhoy became most emphatic about the qualifications of leadership, consisting of wisdom rather than wealth or false power, in his scheme for colonization in America. "Everyone who wishes to enter the society," he wrote in the first of 117 articles of association, "must seriously and earnestly promise that he will never try to strive for any special power nor will allow anyone else to make the least efforts in that direction." There was suspicion on the part of some participants that he hereby sought to abolish all differences between men in a forced system of communism. His defense of the project serves to clarify his notion of equality:

> Although the first article of Letter "D" poses equality as the basis of our society, we hope that nobody will be so naive, much less malevolent, as to think, inspite of our clear distinction, that we are attempting to remove all differences between persons. This is so far from the truth that we on the contrary believe that to be as impossible as that our fingers would be the same length; for every human being, because of his natural characteristics and special qualities, comprising a universe in himself, will always remain different from others; wherefore they could correct-

ly be considered the greatest fools in the world who try to bring many people under one rule or strict way of life without considering what every man in particular requires for his well-being. This is why in the enactment of all laws for the society the common welfare should be kept in mind without restricting anyone's personal and natural liberty. But to suppress the individual by force, as is usually practised in the world, is according to our opinion merely deferring the larger evil and making it break out more violently. We want it understood then, concerning our important foundation of equality: namely, that in order to establish a stable Christian civilian society, republic, or commonwealth, an equality (between more and less intelligent, more and less wealthy, male and female, ruler and ruled) must be contrived by reasoning and experience. Furthermore be it known that we fight against all violations of the true foundations of freedom, amongst which we consider all domineering over members of the society, or exercise of force, moreover all complacent obedience, such as in the Roman Catholic way of imposing upon us, freedom-loving Dutchmen.

As early as 1625 Negro slaves were brought to New Netherland from Africa and Brazil. The Dutch West India Company engaged in bitter competition with English shippers during the ensuing years for a monopoly of the African slave trade. In addition to the Negro populace New Netherland had a large proportion of white slaves, commonly called "indentured servants."

Plockhoy's attitude toward the practice of Negro or white slavery is to be gathered, not from a lengthy statement, but from scattered references in the colonization prospectus which he published. Two sentences are: "The name 'servant' or 'servant-maid' will not be used in the society, but all shall share in the advantages." and "Since we do not want to have servile slavery in our society [Pennypacker translated it "No lordship or slavery shall burden our company"], everybody will have to work hard in order that we may show good progress." Whether white or Negro slavery was his primary concern is not stated.

Protests to Dutch Commercialism

It is significant in ascertaining his true attitude to note that the two above references did not appear in the scheme previously published in England, although most of it was carried over into the Dutch prospectus. The several innovations are easily discernible as changes necessitated by a New World environment or as protests to the aims and practices of the Dutch West India Company. That Plockhoy sought reform in administrative policy is evident from his statement, "No sensible people who can look further than the length of their noses have tried or will try to move to New Amstel under existing conditions." The Dutch were primarily traders, not farmers; and the agricultural development of the colony lagged behind that of the English colonies which surrounded it. In Plockhoy's colony agriculture was the predominant interest, not trade. He sought the elimination of land taxation and the provision for more self-government. Land and livestock was to be owned in common for a period of time, after which they were to be divided among the members, thereby providing a greater personal initiative for settlers. Perhaps he had initiative in mind when he said that slavery is a burden to a society.

There are also references to slavery in the poem published as part of Plockhoy's prospectus and written by his friend, Jacob Steendam. Steendam, called the "First Poet of New Netherland," is best known for his *Klacht van Nieuw-Amsterdam* (Complaint of New Amsterdam). This poem was written after Steendam had lived some time in New Netherland and observed first hand the conditions there. In the "Spurring Verses" which he addressed "To the lovers of the colony and brotherhood to be established on the South River of New Netherland by Peter Cornelison Plockhoy," he wrote:

What see you in your houses, towns, and Fatherland?
Is God not over all? the heavens ever wide?
His blessing deck the earth,—like bursting veins expand
In floods of treasures o'er, wherever you abide;
Which neither are to monarchies nor duke-doms bound,
They are as well in one, as other country found.

But there, a living view does always meet your eye,
Of Eden, and the promised land of Jacob's seed;
Who would not, then, in such a formed community
Desire to be a freeman; and the rights decreed
To each and every one, by Amstel's burgher lords,
T'enjoy? and treat with honor what they rule awards?

You will not aliens, in those far lands, appear;
As formerly, in Egypt, e'en was Israel.
Nor have you slavery nor tyranny to fear,
Since Joseph's eyes do see, and on the compass fall.
The civic Fathers who on th' Y perform their labors,
Are your protectors; and your countrymen are neighbors.

His American colony was his last reform project, because it was destroyed in the Anglo-Dutch war of 1664. Self-survival was his primary concern thereafter, until he finally succumbed to oppression himself and became a blind and infirm wanderer, seeking aid in his helpless state. There is no writing from his pen in America, against slavery or any other social ill. It was in Holland where he wrote the prospectus, which banned slavery in the settlement he was planning to organize. But concerning his attitude toward human bondage of any sort at any time there can be no doubt.

What Shall I Preach?

BY GEORGE FLOROVSKY

CHRISTIAN MINISTERS are not supposed to preach their private opinions, at least from the pulpit. Ministers are commissioned and ordained in the church precisely to preach the Word of God. They are given some fixed terms of reference—namely, the gospel of Jesus Christ—and they are committed to this sole and perennial message. They are expected to propagate and to sustain "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." Of course, the Word of God must be preached "efficiently." That is, it should always be so presented as to carry conviction and command the allegiance of every new generation and every particular group. It may be restated in new categories, if the circumstances require. But, above all, the identity of the message must be preserved.

One has to be sure that one is preaching the same gospel that was delivered and that one is not introducing instead any "strange gospel" of his own. The Word of God cannot be easily adjusted or accommodated to the fleeting customs and attitudes of any particular age, including our own time. Unfortunately, we are often inclined to measure the Word of God by our own stature of Christ. The "modern mind" also stands under the judgment of the Word of God . . . .

The Lost Scriptural Mind

The modern man often complains that the truth of God is offered to him in an "archaic idiom"—i.e., in the language of the Bible—which is no more his own and cannot be used spontaneously. It has recently been suggested that we should radically "demythologize" Scripture, meaning to replace the antiquated categories of the Holy Writ by something more modern. Yet the question cannot be evaded: Is the language of the Scripture really nothing else than an accidental and external wrapping out of which some "eternal idea" is to be extricated and disentangled, or is it rather a perennial vehicle of the divine message, which was once delivered for all time?

We are in danger of losing the uniqueness of the Word of God in the process of continuous "reinterpretation." But how can we interpret at all if we have forgotten the original language? Would it not be safer to bend our thought to the mental habits of the biblical language and to release the idiom of the Bible? No man can receive the gospel unless he repents—"changes his mind." For in the language of the gospel "repentance" *(metanoeita)* does not mean merely acknowledgment of and contrition for sins, but precisely a "change of mind" —a profound change of man's mental and emotional attitude, an integral renewal of man's self, which begins in his self-renunciation and is accomplished and sealed by the Spirit.

We are living now in an age of intellectual chaos and disintegration. Possibly modern man has not yet made up his mind, and the variety of opinions is beyond any hope of reconciliation. Probably the only luminous sign post we have to guide us through the mental fog of our desperate age is just the "faith which was once delivered unto the saints," obsolete or archaic as the idiom of the early church may seem to be, judged by our fleeting standards.

Creeds and Bible

What, then, are we going to preach? What would preach to my contemporaries "in a time such as this"? There is no room for hesitation: I am going to preach Jesus, and him crucified and risen. I am going to preach and to commend to all whom I may be called to address the message of salvation, as it has been handed down to me by an uninterrupted tradition of the Church Universal. I would not isolate myself in my own age. In other words, I am going to preach the "doctrines of the creed." . . . Let us remember, however, that the early creeds were deliberately scriptural, and it is precisely their scriptural phraseology that makes them difficult for the modern man.

Thus we face the same problem again: What can we offer instead of Holy Writ? I would prefer the language of the Tradition, not because of a lazy and credulous "conservatism" or a blind "obedience" to some external "authorities," but simply because I cannot find any better phraseology. I am prepared to expose myself to the inevitable charge of being "antiquarian" and "fundamentalist." And I would protest that such a charge is gratuitous and wrong. I do keep and hold the "doctrines of the creed," conscientiously and wholeheartedly because I apprehend by faith their perennial adequacy and relevance to all ages and to all situations, including "a time such as this." And I believe it is precisely the "doctrines of the creed" that can enable a desperate generation like ours to regain Christian courage and vision.

Christ and the Church

In the early church the preaching was emphatically theological. It was not a vain speculation. The New Testament itself is a theological book. Neglect of theology in the instruction given to laity in modern times is responsible both for the decay of personal religion and for that sense of frustration which dominates the modern mood. What we need in Christendom "in a time such as this" is precisely a sound and existential theology. In fact, both clergy and the laity are hungry for theology. And because no theology is usually preached, they adopt some "strange ideologies" and combine them with the

ragments of traditional beliefs. The whole appeal of he "rival gospels" in our days is that they offer some ort of pseudo theology, a system of pseudo dogmas. hey are gladly accepted by those who cannot find any heology in the reduced Christianity of "modern" style. hat existential alternative which many face in our days as been aptly formulated by an English theologian, Dogma or . . . death." The age of a-dogmatism and ragmatism has closed. And therefore the ministers of he church have to preach again doctrines and dogmas—he Word of God.

The first task of the contemporary preacher is the reconstruction of belief." It is by no means an intelectual endeavor. Belief is just the map of the true world, nd should not be mistaken for reality. Modern man has een too much concerned with his own ideas and conictions, his own attitudes and reactions. The modern risis precipitated by humanism (an undeniable fact) as been brought about by the rediscovery of the real vorld, in which we do believe. The rediscovery of the hurch is the most decisive aspect of this new spiritual ealism. Reality is no more screened from us by the wall f our own ideas. It is again accessible. It is again realzed that the church is not just a company of believers, but the "Body of Christ." This is a rediscovery of a new dimension, a rediscovery of the continuing presence of the divine Redeemer in the midst of his faithful flock. This discovery throws a new flood of light on the misery of our disintegrated existence in a world thoroughly secularized. It is already recognized by many that the true solution of all social problems lies somehow in the reconstruction of the church. "In a time such as this" one has to preach the "whole Christ," Christ and the church . . . . Possibly this preaching is still unusual, but it seems to be the only way to preach the Word of God efficiently in a period of doom and despair like ours.

* * *

Editor's Note: This is an abbreviated reprint from *The Christian Century* (Dec. 19, 1951) which appeared as the final article in a series "What Shall I Preach to a Fear-Stricken Age?" The author was born in Russia, taught in Paris and is now dean of the St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, New York, as well as professor at Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University. —Does an article like this reveal a trend in American theology or is it just a voice out of "European wilderness"? Time will tell. Meanwhile we should give the voice an honest hearing.

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For complete illustrated story of Ontario Mennonites written by B. Mabel Dunham, Andrew R. Shelly, and Blodwen Davies, see the October, 1950, issue of *Mennonite Life*.

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